East Texas Historical Journal

Volume 16 | Issue 2 Article 1

10-1978

ETHJ Vol-16 No-2

EAST TEXAS Historical Journal

VOLUME XVI 1978 NUMBER 2

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Vol. XVI — East Texas Historical Association

EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Volume XVI 1978 Number 2

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NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS

P.O. BOX 6223 SFA STATION 75962

Archie P. McDonald, Editor

BOOK REVIEWS

TOWARD THE VISION OF AUSTINA: THE LIFE OF MOSES AUSTIN

by W. Richard Fossey

In 1821, Stephen F. Austin established the first colony of American settlers in the Mexican province of Texas and thus drove the entering wedge of Anglo-Saxon immigration which eventually Americanized Texas. Through diplomatic skill, political ability, and singleminded devotion to the people he served, he guided the American community from a nucleus of 300 families until it was strong enough to successfully throw off Mexican rule and establish an independent republic. Without Austin, wrote biographer Eugene C. Barker, "there is no reason to believe that Texas would differ today from the Mexican states south of the Rio Grande."[1]

Without question, Austin deserves the honor which Texans have given him as the founder of Texas. It owes its existence as a state in the American Union primarily to the vision of this one man. Yet it was the vision of his father, Moses Austin, which preceded the vision of the son. It was Moses who travelled from the Mississippi valley to San Antonio and won the first grant to colonize 300 Anglo families at the time his son was content to seek employment as a clerk in New Orleans. When the fatigue and illness which he suffered from that journey brought him to his death bed, it was almost Moses Austin's dying wish that Stephen continue the enterprise which his father had initiated.

Quite understandably, little has been written about Moses Austin, since his life has been overshadowed by the accomplishments of his son. Yet Moses Austin deserves more than a footnote in Texas history. He is significant, not only for his accomplishments, but also as a representative of the kind of men who sought their destinies in the American Southwest during the early part of the 19th century.

Moses Austin was "imbued with the spirit of business," and he spent the last 23 years of his life on the Missouri frontier, a region filled with men like himself who poured most of their creative energy into making money. A contemporary described the most conspicuous traits of the men west of the Mississippi as, "enterprise in business, the pursuit of wealth, . . . and perserverance under the pressure of many difficulties."[2] An examination of Austin's contemporaries and acquaintances on the Southwestern frontier bears this out. Austin knew such men as Joshua Pilcher, William Ashley, and Andrew Henry, all leaders in opening the Rocky Mountain fur trade; and he probably was acquainted with some of the men who attempted to open the Santa Fe trade from St. Louis in 1813. Land speculators like Rufus Easton and John Rice Jones were his friends and business partners, and he had personal dealings with some of the principals in the Aaron Burr conspiracy.

Austin's journey to Texas, undertaken in the last year of his life, was the first step in the biggest business deal he ever envisioned. The grant to settle a colony in Texas was but a small part of what he hoped to accomplish. Much more important, in his mind, was the establishment of a port at the mouth of the Colorado River to which the trade of northern New Spain would enter, a port which would rival New Orleans and would establish Austin as a wealthy man.[3] He planned to name the port Austina, the self-tribute of a man whose spirit of business opened Texas to the Americans.

W. Richard Fossey formerly served as Research Historian for the Fort Worth Museum of Science & History. He is currently enrolled in the University of Texas Law School.

Moses Austin, the son of Elias and Eunice Austin, was born in October, 1761, in the Connecticut valley town of Durham.[4] His father was a prosperous tailor and a descendent of Richard Austin, also a tailor, who immigrated to Charlestown, Massachusetts, from England in 1638.

Like many other young New Englanders at the close of the American Revolution, Moses sought his destiny in the South and the West. In 1783, he moved from New Haven to Philadelphia, where he opened a dry goods store and formed a merchandising partnership with his brother Stephen. A branch business was established in Richmond, Virginia, and in September, 1784, Moses Austin moved to Virginia to take charge of the operation.[5]

It was during this time that Austin began to court Maria Brown, a young girl from Philadelphia. Maria was an orphan living with her mother's aunt, Mrs. Benjamin Fuller, a wealthy Philadelphia citizen.[6] The only letter from Moses Austin to Maria which is extant was written in January, 1785, during their courtship; it shows that Austin displayed as much ardor and energy in courtship as he did in his future business enterprises:

> For heavens sake tell me what is the matter why dont you write me am I forgot so shortly—no it shall not be so I will fancy to my self you love me still I cannot endure the Idea of being forgot by my Maria it cannot it must not be so O Maria I have a thousand things to say but have not time to say them all now could I see you one moment it would releave me from half my trouble but when that will be God only Knows.

He implored her to tell him whether she was willing to come to Virginia. "If you find your hart not inclined tell me so and Keep not one sintement of your hart . . . ."[7]

Apparently Maria was willing to go to Virginia, for on September 29, 1785, they were married in Philadelphia.[8]

Little is known about the Austin's life in Virginia. Apparently, they knew prosperity for at least a time, because Austin built an imposing residence in Richmond of brick and marble, a structure which attracted much local attention in its time.[9] Two daughters were born to the couple: Anna Maria, in 1787; and Eliza Fuller, in 1790. Both died in infancy. Their first son Stephen Fuller Austin, was born on November 3, 1793.[10]

Even when she was young and the prospects of her enterprising young husband must have appeared bright, Maria had a keen sense of the capriciousness of human events and an abiding pessimism about the prospects of finding happiness and security in the temporal world. When she was twenty-one years old, she began a letter to her husband:

> How oft my Beloved Husband do we form to our Selves the most Agreeable Ideas. when in a moment our hopes are crushed and the higher we rise in Expectation the lower we fall in the Vexsation of Disappointment . . .
>
> At this moment I am thinking of the Absurdity of looking for Happyness in this world, when in fact there is no such thing to be found—nor in my poor Opinion—did the wise disposer of all things ever design it should be in this state of probation, but that we may merit by our Sufferings and fortitude here—a better Existance hereafter, we must in short look beyond this little scene of things for felicity.[11]

Maria's philosophy of life was a somber contrast to that of her husband, whose optimism was never quite crushed and who always found a new opportunity just over the horizon. But given the mercurial rise and fall of her

husband's fortunes and the uncertainties of life on the frontier, it is no wonder that her outlook did not brighten in later years.

In 1791, the Austins left Richmond to settle in Wythe County, Virginia, which was then on the western frontier of settlement. There, Austin took up the lead mining business, a vocation he followed for most of the rest of his life. Although he was in partnership with his brother Stephen, Moses Austin was personally in charge of operations. He employed as many as fifty or sixty men. He established a village near the mines and called it Austinville; thus Austin had placed his name on the landscape by the time he was thirty.

Throughout his life, Austin drew his relatives into his business dealings, and the enterprise in southwestern Virginia was no exception. Doubtless his enthusiasm and energy gave them confidence, for a great many family members followed Austin west from New England. He was joined in the mining venture by his nephew, Charles Austin, son of his partner and brother Stephen; and by a cousin, James Austin, who operated the post office in Austinville.[12] Moses Bates, husband of Austin's sister, Martha, was also in the area. Other Austins in Virginia were William and cousins Horace and Roderick.[13]

For some reason, the mining operation was not a success, and Austin looked to the West, as he was to do throughout his life, for the opportunity to reverse his fortunes.

Either from the grapevine of information which ran along the immigrant trails toward Kentucky and Tennessee, or in the course of his lead mining business, Austin learned of rich lead deposits in the Spanish province of Upper Louisiana, in what is now southwestern Missouri. Moreover, the Spanish commandants in Louisiana had begun circulating handbills in 1796, urging settlers to come to Spanish territory and offering land grants.[14] Austin decided to travel to the province, examine the lead deposits, and, if possible, obtain a land grant in the mining region.

In December, 1796, Austin set out with Josiah Bell for Upper Louisiana, travelling by way of the Cumberland Gap and Frankfort, Kentucky. The weather was extremely cold; Austin recorded in his journal that the snow was two feet deep most of the way, and the rivers and creeks were frozen over. Even so, Austin found himself on the road to Kentucky amidst a throng of western emigrants, making their way across the winter wilderness to the Promised Land of Kentucky. He wrote in his journal:

> I cannot omitt Noticeing the many Distress.d families I pass.d in the Wilderness nor can any thing be more distressing to a man of feeling than to see woman and Children in the Month of Decembr. Travelling a Wilderness Through Ice and Snow passing large rivers and Creeks with out Shoe or Stocking, and barely as maney raggs as covers their Nakedness, with out money or provisions except what the Wilderness affords . . . life *What is it, Or What can it give,* to make Compensation for such accumulated Misery . . . can any thing be more Absurd than the Conduct of man, here is hundreds Traveling hundreds of Miles, they Know not for what Nor Whither, except its to Kentucky, passing land almost as good and easy obtain.d, the Proprietors of which would gladly give on any terms, but it will not do its not Kentuckey its not the Promis.d land its not the goodly inheratence the Land of Milk and Honey. and when arriv.d at this Heaven in Idea what do they find? a goodly land I will allow but to them forbidden Land. exhausted and worn down with distress and disappointment they are at last Oblig.d to become hewers of wood and Drawers of water.[15]

Austin did not include himself in his perceptive observation of the western emigrants, for he was not riding west on the Kentucky road in search of the Land of Milk and Honey. Moses Austin was "an expectant capitalist," a man who found in the West the "conditions that encouraged him to extend himself."[16] Enterprise, ambition, and the empire he planned to build compelled him westward—not biblical visions of the Promised Land. He was also a man conscious of himself in history. He realized that the West was a vacuum soon to be filled, and he understood that he had a unique opportunity to be among the first to fill it. He closed the journal of his journey to Upper Louisiana with these lines:

> I have made these few observations of my Journey to the Missisipi for the Use of my son, should he live to my Age, Not Doubting but by that time the Country I have pass.d in a state of Nature will be overspread with Towns and Villages, for it is not possible a Country which has with in its self everything to make its settlers Rich and Happy can remain Unnoticed by the American people.[17]

On the morning of January 15, 1797, Austin crossed the frozen Mississippi River and entered the Spanish town of St. Louis. There was no tavern in the village and it was only through the assistance of an English-speaking man named Drake that he was able to obtain quarters for the night. After changing his clothes, he went immediately to visit the lieutenant-governor and commandant-general, Zenon Trudeau, to whom he presented letters of introduction and explained the nature of his business.[18]

In later years, Austin enlarged upon the story of his arrival in St. Louis to give it more drama and to make it appear as if the Connecticut Yankee had shrewdly taken advantage of the "weakness of Spanish character." This was the story he told his friend Henry Schoolcraft in 1818:

> I have it from his own lips, that when he came near to St. Louis, . . . he thought it necessary to enter the town with as large a retinue . . . as possible. He led the way himself, on the best horse he could muster, clothed in a long blue mantel, lined with scarlet and embroidered with lace, and rode through the principal street, where the Governor resided, followed by his servants, guides, and others. So extraordinary a cavalcade, in a place so little frequented by strangers, and at such a season of the year, could not fail, as he had supposed, to attract the particular attention of the local authorities, and the Governor sent an orderly officer to inquire his character and rank. Being answered, he soon returned with an invitation for himself and suite to take up their residence at his house, observing, at the same time, in the most polite manner, and with characteristic deference to the rank of his guest, that there was no other house in town that could afford him suitable accommodations during his stay. The favourable impressions created by this *entreé*, which Mr. Austin, in later life, related to his friends with inimitable glee, led him to his ultimate success.[19]

Austin lost no time in accomplishing his purpose. On January 16, he left St. Louis for St. Genevieve, a river town south of St. Louis. He arrived there on the 19th, and introduced himself to the Spanish commandant, Francois Vallé. He apparently impressed Vallé, for the commandant furnished Austin with a carryall and two horses for his inspection tour of the mining country forty miles to the west. Austin made a quick examination of the diggings, called Mine á Breton, found them "equal to my Expectation in Every respect," and was back in St. Genevieve on January 26.[20]

On the 27th, Vallé issued Austin a permit authorizing him to settle families in Upper Louisiana.[21] More than that, he entered into a partnership with Austin to develop the lead mines. Another Spanish official, Pierre de Hault de Lassus de Luziere, commandant of New Bourbon, showed his confidence in Austin by joining the partnership, as did John Rice Jones, an influential American in the region. In only twelve days, Austin had made a remarkable impression on the Spanish.[22]

Austin hastened home to Virginia to wind up his affairs. By June, 1797, he came to an agreement with his brother Stephen, by which their partnership in the Virginia mining business would be dissolved. Austin agreed that all profits from his new venture in Louisiana would be for the mutual benefit of the two brothers until 1800, when they would divide land, mines, and other property between them.[23]

In later years, Stephen Austin felt himself mistreated by his brother in regard to the dissolution of their partnership and believed that his brother had jumped from the wreck of their failing business, leaving him to suffer the consequences. Whether this was Austin's intention or not, Stephen certainly suffered great financial distress in the years following his brother's emigration to Spanish Louisiana. He was imprisoned for debt for a time and reduced to working as a laborer to support his family.[24] Moses Austin, safely out of the country, advised his brother to extricate himself from their joint creditors by declaring bankruptcy, but Stephen Austin refused to do it.[25] Finally, in 1808, their nephew, Henry Austin, negotiated a settlement of their dispute; but Stephen died penniless. His son Charles was compelled to ask Moses for funds to support Stephen's widow and daughter.[26]

In June, 1798, Austin left Virginia for the last time and set out to permanently settle in Missouri. This time he was accompanied by his wife and family, several relatives, and some slaves, making up a party of forty people. They travelled down the Ohio River by barge. By the time they arrived at Kaskaskia, on the American side of the Mississippi, the party was so sick and exhausted that only two people of a group of seventeen could walk from the boat to shore. Two of Austin's nephews, Parson and Henry Bates, died on the journey. The Austins arrived in St. Genevieve in September, and spent the winter there.[27]

Upper Louisiana in 1798 was even more primitive than western Virginia. Except for a few settlements on the Mississippi, largely inhabited by French-speaking people, the region was a perfect wilderness. Mine á Breton, forty miles west of the Mississippi River, had no permanent settlers. Miners worked the diggings three or four months a year, extracting the lead from shallow pits, and returned to the settlements in the winter. The Osage Indians were extremely hostile, and it was only when the tribes left the area for seasonal hunting expeditions that whites could enter the mining region with any feeling of safety.

The Indians were so fierce in 1799 that the French inhabitants of St. Genevieve were confined to the town.[28] Nevertheless, the Austins left the village and established a permanent settlement at Mine á Breton. The Osages attacked them there, but they had sufficient forces to withstand the assault.[29] The settlement was attacked at least once more in 1802, but with the aid of a cannon, probably loaned by the Spanish military authorities, the Austins again defeated the attackers.[30]

Austin named the Mine á Breton community Potosi, after the famous silver mines of South America.[31] By 1799, he had a saw mill and grist mill in operation and had erected a shot tower and furnaces in connection with his lead business.

The same year, he began construction of his private residence, Durham Hall, named after his birthplace in Connecticut. By 1804, the little community which he had founded numbered over 700 inhabitants, both French and American.[32]

Austin revolutionized the lead mining business in Louisiana. Previously lead had been extracted by digging shallow pits, not more than ten feet deep. Miners found it easier to abandon pits at that depth and dig new ones rather than go to the trouble of raising the ore out of deeper excavations. The smelting process, conducted in crude furnaces, only extracted about 35% of the ore. Austin sank the first mining shaft and introduced a reverbatory furnace which extracted 65% of the ore. Independent miners soon found it profitable to have their ore extracted in Austin's furnaces rather than smelt it themselves.[33]

After the failure at Austinville, Potosi was Austin's second chance to become wealthy, and it seemed for a time he would succeed. Between 1804 and 1808, Mine´a Breton reached its maximum production, employing as many as two hundred men.[34] To provide a shipping outlet for his lead on the Mississippi River, Austin, along with Samuel Hammond, founded the town of Herculaneum, which Austin named after the ancient buried city near Naples.[35]

Just as in Virginia, Austin's relatives joined him in Missouri. James Austin and Moses Bates followed him west when the Virginia business failed; and his nephew, Charles Austin, eventually came, after it became hopeless for him and his father to save the business which Moses Austin had abandoned.[36] The children of Moses Austin's deceased brother, Elijah Horace Austin, Henry Austin, and Mary Austin Holley came to Missouri for a time. Henry eventually came to Texas, where he sent the first steamboat up the Rio Grande; and Mary Austin Holley wrote an early history of Texas.[37] Besides them, Timothy Phelps, brother of Elijah Austin's wife, came to Missouri and served as postmaster at St. Genevieve. Elisha Lewis, third husband of Elijah Austin's widowed wife, came also, as well as Dr. Aaron Elliott, husband of Moses Austin's sister, Ann.[38]

If the qualities of perseverance, enterprise, and irrepressible optimism had been sufficient to make men rich in Missouri, Moses Austin would have been a wealthy man. But in addition to these virtues Austin was endowed with what his wife referred to as a "sanquine temper." He was irascible, tactless, and quick to take offense. When other men would have steered through the vagaries of Louisiana politics with caution and diplomacy, Austin managed to create some very powerful enemies.

By the treaty of San Ildefonso, signed in 1801, Spain retroceded Louisiana to France; but when the United States purchased Louisiana from France in 1803, the official transfer had not taken place; and Louisiana was still under Spanish administration. During these transition years, some Spanish officials, realizing that land values would increase with a change of governments, fraudulently granted land to their friends, in some cases antedating documents. Added to this, the complicated manner in which Louisiana settlers obtained title to their land contributed to the confusion about ownership, as well as the practice of many Americans who settled on lands during the last years of Spanish occupation in Louisiana with nothing but verbal permission from Spanish authorities.[39]

These irregularities by Spanish officials created a great deal of anxiety among the Americans in Louisiana, who feared they would lose possession of their land due to fraudulent claims. Shortly before the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, a riot broke out at Mine´a Breton when a Spanish deputy surveyor tried to survey a tract of lant which was already occupied. Moses Austin apparently was involved in this demonstration against Spanish land granting practices, for the Spanish lieutenant-governor. Don Carlos DeLasus, declared that Austin was "the principal in the riot," and although Austin "had

been greatly favored by the Spanish Government," he had thus shown his ungratefulness."[40]

Austin displayed his disillusionment with Spain a second time as the Spanish departed from Louisians after the American transfer. On their journey down river to New Orleans, DeLasus and Spanish troops landed at St. Genevieve to load the post's artillery. DeLasus sent word to Austin to return two pieces of ordnance which had been loaned to him to defend Mine'a Breton against the Indians. Austin refused to give them up, saying that if "the Spanish wanted the cannon they could get them."[41]

When the Americans took possession of Louisiana, they refused to validate any titles dated after the treaty of Ildefonso until it could be determined which were legitimate. This decision affected Austin, who had not completed the laborious process of getting a clear title to his Mine'a Breton holdings until 1802.

In this climate of anxiety and uncertainty which developed from the invalidating of land titles, two political factions arose in Louisiana Territory. One faction under James Wilkinson, who was appointed governor of Louisiana in 1805, was largely made up of long-time French residents. It included Auguste Chouteau, a wealthy merchant in the fur trade; Joseph Browne, territorial secretary; and John Smith T (the T standing for Tennessee), a skilled duelist and by all accounts one of the most disreputable characters in the Mississippi valley. An anti-Wilkinson party arose, largely Americans, which included Will C. Carr, an attorney and personal friend of Thomas Jefferson;[42] Samuel Hammond, who, along with Austin, was co-founder of Herculaneum; Rufus Easton, first postmaster of St. Louis and later a congressional delegate for Missouri Territory;[43] and Austin. A large part of the political differences between these two factions focused on the disposition of land titles.

Austin was unfortunate enough to come into direct confrontation with Smith T. Smith was in possession of a floating land claim, probably antedated, which, he asseted, allowed him to claim a land tract wherever he chose. Part of the land he claimed included Austin's Mine'a Breton holdings. Austin obtained the aid of the sheriff, Seth Hunt, to keep Smith from working the mines, but Governor Wilkinson backed Smith then began an effort to remove Austin from his appointment as judge of common pleas on the grounds Austin had engaged in illegal activities. Wilkinson backed Smith in this effort also, and he even appointed Smith to the office after Austin was removed.[44]

Austin's troubles with Smith T flared up again on the 4th of July, 1806. On that day, Smith T, then a colonel of militia, assaulted Austin's house with a party of armed men in order to take a cannon from Austin, apparently after he had fired it in celebration of the holiday. Austin withstood the attack and wrote a letter the same day to Major Andrew Henry, a member of the grand jury, asking by what authority the cannon was demanded and adding, "I tell you now that if my House is forced by armed men so be It, I can only stand on the Defensive."[45]

Smith T harassed Austin throughout the summer, spreading rumors that Austin had not title to his lands and even accusing Austin of threatening to murder him. To all this, Austin responded with remarkable restraint, given the circumstances, and Austin's temper. He wrote Smith a letter in August, 1806, declaring that in spite of all that had happened he was willing to entertain a reconciliation.[46] Their hostility continued for years, however. In fact, Smith and Austin's son Stephen, had a near fatal encounter of some kind in 1812.[47]

Smith T was not Austin's only enemy; by his own admission he acquired quite a few over the years. A slave girl named Lyd tried to poison him in 1811, and he had reason to fear assassination.[48] Austin's irascibility surely contributed to the animosity towards him, for his friends often warned him to

control his emotions. Will Carr was not alone in his sentiments when he advised Austin, "If I may once be permitted to mention to you one trait in your character that may be amended; it is your temper."[49]

For Austin, Missouri was not just a place to make money and return East; it was home. He worked to improve the community he had founded. He was a trustee of Potosi Academy when it was founded in 1817;[50] and he donated 40 acres of land for the erection of public buildings when Potosi was named county seat of Washington County. His wife, however, never reconciled herself to living in the West and hoped that when their fortune was secure Moses would sell out and return to the East.

Few documents exist from which we might learn of Maria Austin's life in Missouri. However, in 1811, she left Missouri to visit the East, a journey she took for her health and to put two of her children, Brown and Emily, in school. During the two years she was gone she wrote twenty-five letters to her husband which are extant, and from these letters emerges a portrait of a troubled woman whose attitudes toward the West were quite different from her husband's.

Maria Austin was addicted to opium, not an uncommon condition among women of her time when life was harsh, doctors were few, and many patent remedies contained addictive properties. She hoped that the trip east would ease what she called nervous pains in her back and chest and eliminate her need for opium, and for a time she believed her hopes would be realized. "I assure my dear Husband," she wrote, "That I exerted myself to the Utmost to git the better of takeing Opium I have succeaded beyond my most sanquin Expectations & be assured my dearest friend I shall continue in my endeavors to do without it altogether."[51]

After her arrival on the East Coast, Maria put her children in boarding schools and then spent much of her time visiting relatives and friends in Philadelphia and New Haven, which she believed to be the "Hansomest place I ever was in."[52] She wrote her husband that she had received so many social calls since her arrival in New Haven that she expected an entire week would be taken up returning visits: "in Short the Comeing Week will be nothing but one continuous Scean of visiting & Amusements."[53] It is easy to imagine the delight she must have felt to pick up the social life she had left behind twenty-seven years ago when she married Moses Austin as a girl of seventeen.

Her letters contained other concerns too, particularly fears for her family. In the two years she was away from Potosi, the Mississippi valley experienced several calamities. The New Madrid earthquake caused considerable damage in the region where the Austins resided; a fever raged in the Mississippi valley which took many lives, including that of Dr. Aaron Elliott, a relative of the Austins;[54] and the War of 1812 broke out, inciting the Indians to violence in the upper Mississippi valley. Added to these calamities, Austin had troubles of his own. Stephen had written Maria that a slave girl had tried to poison her husband, and there were disturbing references to a possible assassin.[55]

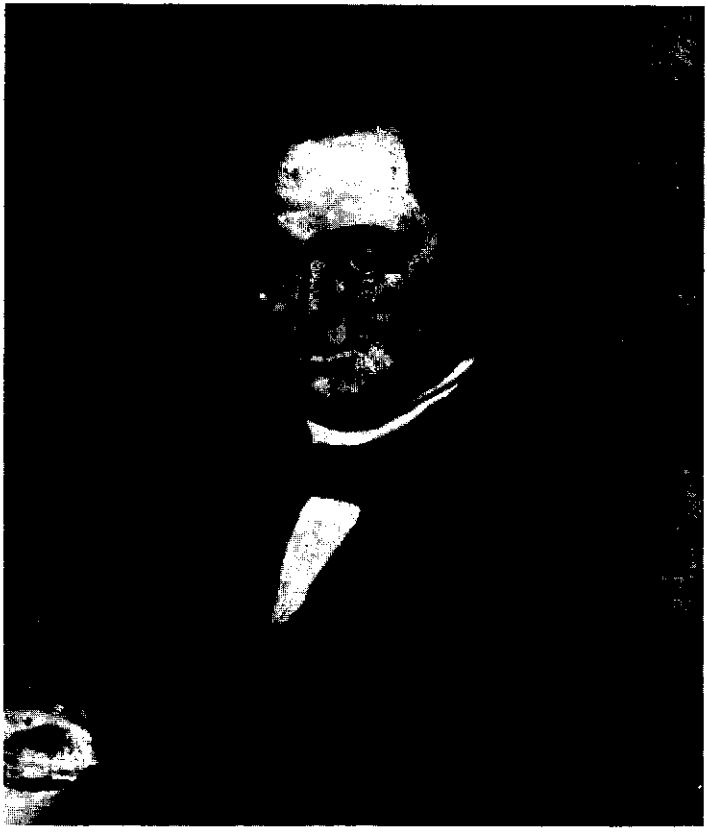
The society she enjoyed in the East and the fears she had of the West combined to compel Maria to urge her husband to sell out and return to New Haven. "Oh let me interest you," she wrote, "to arrange your affairs as soon as possible so as to leave the Country—you have had so many hare breadth escapes of your life that it appears like a Warning from above."[56]

Her friends urged her to stay in the East, she wrote, and believing Austin to be wealthy, they could not understand why he didn't sell his holdings and live the remainder of his life in comfort. Even if Maria returned to the West, her friends advised that her daughter should remain in the East; and Maria agreed. "I do not wish my daughter to settle in Louisiana . . .."[57]

But it was not to be. Not only was Austin not wealthy enough to sell his business and retire, there was not even enough money to keep Brown and Emily in school. So the family returned to Missouri in the spring of 1813, accompanied by James Bryan, Austin's business partner at the mines. The following August, Emily married Mr. Bryan, and like her mother, she wedded her future to the West.

When the War of 1812 broke out Maria had advised her husband to send plenty of lead for others to fight their battles with and "let both parties pursue theirn one [own] measures Unmolested by you—."[58] As it happened the war ruinously depressed the lead market, and before Austin could make a recovery, the Panic of 1819 enveloped the nation; and his Missouri business failed even more disasterously than his Virginia enterprise. The Bank of St. Louis failed in 1819, considerably contributing to his ruin, and the large band of enemies Austin had cultivated over the years probably helped to make his financial failure even worse than it otherwise might have been.

In 1818, as the decline in his fortune began to accelerate, Austin met Henry R. Schoolcraft, a mineralogist from New York who had come to Missouri to inspect the mineral resources of the region. Later, he would become an Indian agent in Michigan and a noted ethnologist of Indian cultures. Schoolcraft was impressed with Austin's hospitality, intelligence, and energetic spirit, and the two became fast friends. Austin prevailed upon Schoolcraft to try to sell his mining property for a 5% commission when he returned to New York.



Their correspondence gives evidence of Austin's increasing emotional distress as his financial situation rapidly declined through the summer of 1819. On June 8, 1819, Austin wrote Schoolcraft a detailed letter giving him the power of attorney to sell Mine á Breton, and indicating the price he was willing to accept. He also listed various goods which he desired Schoolcraft to purchase and ship west. These included not only articles of trade, such as coffee, cloth, and Indian goods, but also a substantial number of luxury items, such as a frame for the Austin coat of arms.[59]

But as the weeks wore on, Austin reduced the price he would accept for his property, and there was no more mention of luxury goods. "For God, sake sell If you can and lett me have power to Draw for, 5 or 6 thousand Dollars If you can do no better. If this is not done I shall be in the power of my Enemies."[60]

Austin's letters became more and more desperate, and sometimes he wrote two in one day, to better insure that at least one would be received. If he did not obtain $6,000 by October, he wrote Schoolcraft on July 20, he would be subject to a sheriff's sale. On July 26, he wrote, "You will think me mad so I am or nearly so and shall not [?] regain my senses untill I have six thousand Dollars . . .." In a second letter, written the same day, he confessed that the distress his enemies caused him was "sufficient to make any man *Mad* and almost lay hands on himself . . .."

By August, Austin wrote he could not sleep and would not be able to until he heard some news from Schoolcraft about his estate.[61] He feared Schoolcraft would be disgusted by so many letters, but he could not let a mail pass without writing.

But along with confessions of emotional distress and testimonies about persecution by his enemies, another theme appeared in Austin's correspondence to Schoolcraft that summer—Texas.

In June, 1819, James Long's filibustering expedition crossed into Texas. Austin paid close attention to its progress, monitoring the situation through his son Stephen, who was in Arkansas Territory at the time on business concerning a trading center which the Austins had established on Red River. On July 4th, Austin wrote Schoolcraft:

> Stephen F. Austin says tell Mr. Schoolcraft that two grand expeditions are now underway [?] for the Spanish country 300 families are making ready to take possession of that part of red River within the *Spanish lines* which comes within [20?] miles of his plantation an other is now making up—to take possession of St Antone under the command of a General long.

On August 18, 1819, Austin again wrote of Texas:

> I have heard from my son Stephen he is much pleased with his situation and states that the expedition to *Texas* is going on with great energy & thinks St. Antone will be in the hands of the Americans in all October next. the army under General Long has advanced into the province of *Texas* and raised the Republican Standard & hundreds are daly Crossing the *Sabine* I understand that the first object will be to establish a provincial government and give *640* acres of land to each *Solder* & Officer . . . *many* men of property and reputation have already *Joined* both Spanish and Americans Not a Royal *Standard* is now raised short of St Antone and the *Cimansa Indians* have united with the Americans with many other *nations*. for God sake sell my estate and if you think of coming on wesh [west] to visit that country I will go with you to this I also Pledge myself.

Finally, on September 17, 1819, Austin wrote Schoolcraft for the last time. His emotional turmoil was gone. Calmly, he wrote, "I hope you will not think of the sacrifice I am to make, but do the best you can and I will be satisfied." Putting his failure in Missouri behind him, he fixed his vision for the last time on the West.

> I shall as soon as my business is Closed in this country Visit St Antonio which place I have but little doubt is now in the hands of the Americans. I have lately received accounts from our friend & son Stephen F. Austin. he has been very sick being much expose on the red River but is again in health . . . that country is filling up with *People* beyond all calculation a few years will make it a state.

Between that day and the day he finally entered San Antonio, Austin's plans changed more than once. The Long expedition failed, and it was necessary for him to present himself in San Antonio as a citizen who would be loyal to the Spanish Crown rather than the supporter of a filibustering movement. For a short period, at least, Austin even considered going back East rather than going to Texas.[62]

But in the months to come Austin's Texas plans crystallized. Although he was so impoverished as to be unable to obtain funds to get his son Brown out of debter's prison in Kentucky, he confidently set out on a new enterprise, the boldest he had ever envisioned. He rode to San Antonio and received permission to settle a colony of three hundred families on the Colorado River in the Spanish province of Texas. The purpose of this colony was not primarily agricultural: rather, he informed his son, "I have asked for leave of settlement for 300 families and (200) Thousand Acres of Land to open a Port *Town* . . .." This town, which he would name Austina, would be greater than Austinville, Potosi, or Herculaaneum: it would be a town which would be "equal to New Orleans in Consequence."[63] Austin envisioned a trading center from which the goods of New Spain would flow out to the world and which would establish himself again as a man of property.

He died, however, before his plans could be carried out, worn out from illness and the fatigue of his journey to San Antonio, but optimistic almost to the end. In a letter to his son Stephen, written only nineteen days before his death, he wrote, "Raise your Spirits times are changing A new chance presents itself nothing is now wanting but Concert and firmness."[64] His son carried on the enterprise, but he developed an agricultural colony rather than a commercial center. Moses Austin's vision of Austina was never realized.

For the prospects of Texas, it was probably fortunate that Stephen rather than his father guided the course of the first Anglo colony in Texas. Whereas Stephen was tactful, cautious, and temperate, Moses Austin was contentious, undiplomatic, and, in the words of his wife, "two often precipitate in his conclusions and often ere[d] from acting from the Impulse of the moment."[65] Nevertheless, Moses Austin's spirit of business, his perseverance, and his unfailing optimism in the possibilities of the West opened Texas to the Americans. In the coming years men much like him would firmly secure it to the United States.

NOTES

[1]Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin* (Austin, 1949), 447.

[2]Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures* (Philadelphia, 1853), 228.

[3]Eugene C. Barker, (ed.), *Austin Papers*, I, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, Vol. II, 385-387.

[4]Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin*, 3.

[5]*Austin Papers*, I, 1, 35-36.

[6]Laura Bryan Parker, Geneological Notes, Moses Austin Biographical File, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin.

[7]Moses Austin to Maria Brown, January 25, 1785, Austin Papers, Archives, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin.

[8]*Austin Papers*, I, 1.

[9]Gertrud R. Rath, "The Life and Times of Moses Austin in Missouri" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1924), 7.

[10]*Austin Papers*, I, 1.

[11]*Ibid.*, 7-8.

[12]Stephen Austin to James Austin, January 8, 1800, Austin Papers.

[13]Mattie Austin Hatcher to Eugene C. Barker, July 29, 1920, Moses Austin Biographical File.

[14]William E. Foley, *A History of Missouri*, Vol. I: *1673 to 1820* (Columbus, 1971), 43-44.

[15]Moses Austin, "A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," etc., *American Historical Review*, Vol. V (April, 1900), 525-526.

[16]William H. Goetzmann, "The Mountain Man as Jacksonin Man," Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series, reprinted from *American Quarterly*, XV (Fall, 1963), 8.

[17]Moses Austin, "A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," 542.

[18]*Ibid.*, 535.

[19]Schoolcraft, *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1825), 242.

[20]Moses Austin, "A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," 540.

[21]Translation of permit for Moses Austin to settle families in Upper Louisiana, January 27, 1797, Austin Papers.

[22]*Austin Papers*, I, 29-31; and Barker, 11.

[23]*Ibid.*, 35-36.

[24]Stephen Austin to Moses Austin, February 23, 1801, and July 25, 1801, Austin Papers.

[25]Stephen Austin to Moses Austin, February 23, 1801, Austin Papers.

[26]Charles Austin to Moses Austin, July 13, 1810, Austin Papers.

[27]*Austin Papers*, I, 2.

[28]Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri*, I (Chicago, 1908), 371.

[29]*Austin Papers*, I, 2.

[30]Houck, I, 371.

[31]Schoolcraft, *Travels*, 244.

[32]U.S. President, 1801-1809, *Message From the President of the United States to Both Houses of Congress*, 8th November, 1804 (Washington, 1804), 19. This document contains a report on the lead mines of Missouri written by Moses Austin.

[33]Foley, I, 59-60.

[34]Rath, 113.

[35]Houck, III, 186.

[36]Charles Austin to James Bryan, July 2, 1810, Austin Papers.

[37]Lee, 57; and *Handbook of Texas,* I, 827.

[38]Lee, 57, 86; and Houck, III, 67.

[39]Houck, III, 35.

[40]Houck, II, 366.

[41]*Ibid.*

[42]Houck, III, 15.

[43]*Ibid.*, 14-15.

[44]*Austin Papers,* I, 97-98.

[45]*Ibid.*, 109-110.

[46]*Ibid.*, 111.

[47]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, June 7, 1812, Austin Papers.

[48]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, June 7, 1812, and November 24, 1811, Austin Papers.

[49]*Austin Papers,* I, 112.

[50]Houck, III, 69.

[51]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, July 20, 1811, Austin Papers.

[52]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, September 8, 1811, Austin Papers.

[53]*Ibid.*

[54]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, September 21, 1811, Austin Papers.

[55]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, June 7, 1812, Austin Papers.

[56]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, November 24, 1811, Austin Papers.

[57]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, March 16, 1812, Austin Papers.

[58]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, August 7, 1812, Austin Papers.

[59]Moses Austin to Henry R. Schoolcraft, June 8, 1819, photocopy, Austin Papers.

[60]Moses Austin to Schoolcraft, June 26, 1819, photocopy, Austin Papers.

[61]August 13, 1819.

[62]*Austin Papers,* I, 333.

[63]*Ibid.*, 387.

[64]*Austin Papers,* I, 393.

[65]Maria Austin, undated fragment, Austin Papers.

THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN RECONSTRUCTION TEXAS: READJUSTMENTS IN RELIGION AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE NEGRO CHURCH

by James Smallwood

Reconstruction inspired the development of significant socioeconomic and political trends within the black community in the South as Negroes emerged from slavery to freedom. Emancipation itself sped the development of pre-existing trends, one of the most pronounced of which was a drive to sever connections with white churches. Such separation took place in all southern states during Reconstruction, but if the process is examined in only an individual state, Texas for example, the ramifications of new religious freedom for the black community may be gauged.

During the antebellum period in Texas, most slaves had acquired strong religious convictions and had demonstrated a desire to control their own services. Some slaveholders, motivated by humanitarianism or by the baser desire to mold obedient, docile servants, allowed chattels to attend segregated services or paid white circuit riders to deliver periodic sermons to slave congregations. Other owners permitted black preachers to administer to rural gatherings and occasionally allowed Negro congregations to join white religious associations, if accepted. Fearing that it would encourage restlessness, most owners refused to allow slaves to observe religious rites unless Anglos supervised all gatherings. Still others allowed bondsmen no exposure to religion.[1]

Slaveholders did not entirely succeed in their attempts to supervise or suppress black religion. Negroes refused to give up their services, one of the only means of self-expression available to them. Often on weekend nights, even if their masters allowed them to attend white churches or to hold supervised gatherings, bondsmen slipped away from their quarters to the nearest woods and held meetings.[2] During slave times, then, Negroes tried to assert control over their religious practices; emancipation allowed the fruition of that goal.

Rapidly after emancipation black Texans withdrew from native white churches to escape Anglo domination and prejudice. Together with ex-slaves who had never been allowed to hold religious meetings, they joined the "northern wing" of established Anglo congregations or, more commonly, organized their own churches which became the first institution blacks themselves actually owned and controlled. Although they usually left white churches voluntarily—without overt pressure—prejudice and segregations within the churches, constant reminders of the supposed inferiority of Negroes, influenced the freedmen's decision to withdraw. Yet Negroes would have formed their own churches in any case because separation represented as much an assertion of freedom as the practice of leaving the old plantation.

A majority of freedmen became either Baptists or Methodists because they enjoyed the evangelical style of those denominations. By 1868 the African Methodist Episcopal Church claimed 3,000 members in Texas. Six years later 7,000 members attended that denomination's fifty-four churches in the state. The black Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, organized in 1871, had 7,934 members and fifty ministers by that time. The autonomy granted to local congregations influenced blacks to join the Baptist Church. By 1869,

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James Smallwood serves as Assistant Professor of History at Oklahoma State University.

with the great majority of freedmen attending separate services, black membership in the Baptist Church had outstripped that in the Methodist, a fact white Methodists took into consideration when by the next year they allowed the formation of new Negro congregations under the auspices of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.[3]

Of inestimable value, the church became the central institution of the Negro community, serving the religious, social, education, and even economic needs of the new freedmen. Many aid societies for the relief of destitutes, widows, and orphans developed out of the church. Additionally, the church often acted as an employment center, as a place where members could gain information about the local job market. The church also set moral guidelines for the community, impressing on blacks the importance of sobriety, hard work, and marital fidelity. It acted as a psychological safety valve, wherein freedmen could release pent-up frustrations. It allowed Negroes to escape temporarily the prejudice and discrimination of the white world. In church freedmen could discard the Sambo image, regain their pride and self-respect, and "be Mr. Somebody" instead of just another "nigger." For preachers and laymen the church also provided opportunity to develop leadership potential. It would not be an overstatement to say that the church was the grassroots institution from which black leadership emerged. Moreover, in the Negro church, black individuals gained a voice in the decision-making process, a voice they never had in the white church.[4]

Apparently, the black community did not lack ministers during Reconstruction. Although the established churches ordained only a few freedmen, lay preachers abounded. Regarding it as only logical that the most stable, most respected, and perhaps the most dynamic member of the community should lead their religious services, black congregations ordained their own preachers when need arose. Most often, freedmen turned to those, like Caeser Berry and Matt Gaines, who had been slave preachers. Anderson Edwards of Rusk County started preaching to fellow slaves even before he had learned to read or write and, although he lacked formal training, continued to administer to freedmen after the war. Isaac Wright, Alexander Gillam, George Brooks, and Meshack Roberts—Methodist pastors in Austin, Columbus, Millican, and Marshall—became early black religious leaders. Usually urban pastors tended to be better educated than those in rural areas. To satisfy community needs for educated leaders, northern churches and their benevolent agencies such as the American Missionary Association also supplied ministers, both blacks and whites, and army posts where Negro soldiers served sometimes furnished lay preachers.[5]

Various critics charged black ministers with ignorance, immorality, or both. At an early meeting of Houston's African Methodist Episcopal Church, the pastor delivered a sermon on morality only to be interrupted by a member of the congregation who told him to practice what he preached. Fisticuffs resulted. Two days later, during a sermon on a similar topic, another fight occurred.[6] Occasionally, black ministers faced more serious complaints. In 1875 a black deacon of the Corpus Christi Congregational Church, George Guilmenot, accused his wife and Pastor George Swann of adultery. Vociferously denying the charge, Swann faced a church jury that could have removed him as preacher and expelled him from the church. The court found Swann innocent, however, in a ruling which suggested that after an examination of "the facts" black ministers probably had a greater sense of responsibility than their critics maintained.[7] Further, the many complaints about Negro pastors by whites must be evaluated skeptically since such charges were usually coupled with condemnations of blacks because they would no longer accept white leadership and domination.[8]

Although not universally popular with their congregations or with the Anglo community, preachers often became the most influential leaders in the Negro community, a fact recognized by the white press as early as 1865, when various editors asked ministers to dispell rumors of land redistribution. Using their pulpits as public forums, pastors not only molded the religious sentiments and morals of their congregations, they also encouraged educational programs, often doubled as teachers, acted as social directors, and gave political instruction to the community.[9]

In their religious observance most blacks preferred active, emotional rather than passive roles. They enjoyed the evangelical style as is evidenced by the popularity of the Baptist and Methodist churches. Like most whites, freedmen tended to attach a very literal meaning to the concepts of heaven and hell. Additionally, some blacks continued to fuse Christianity with African religious concepts, believing in ghosts, incantations, other superstitions, and mysterious causation of events. Frequently, white observers criticized the unrestrained singing, the dancing, the chanting and the "vociferous" behavior in Negro churches. What critics labeled as ignorant, "extreme" religious practices could not, however, be mistaken for lack of conviction. One witness, General E.M. Gregory, attested to the strong religious sentiments of the freedmen after conducting a 700-mile tour through East Texas in 1865. The Negro spirituals, most dating back to slave times, represented even stronger evidence of black faith. Indeed, some church members became so pious that they joined temperance and benevolent societies and attended services as many as four times a week, albeit for social and political as well as for religious reasons.[10]

Camp meetings won great popularity among freedmen. Held during the warm spring or summer, the meetings usually lasted from one to three weeks. At these gatherings, held in the countryside, people slept in tents or other makeshift shelters, cooked on an open fire, periodically heard sermons, and passed free time socializing or engaging in sports. Baseball games probably represented the most popular recreation and spectator sport. Even more than regular church meetings, revivals offered ministers the opportunity to win and baptize converts and to moralize on the evils of drinking, gambling, and sexual immorality.[11]

Church records reflected the degree of piety or sin exhibited by the new freedmen and demonstrated that in matters of religion and morality the behavior of blacks compared favorably with that of whites. After the Civil War, the Union Baptist Church in Nacogdoches allowed Negro members free choice on the question of separation. Most left, but some remained. Church leaders found those who stayed to be as religious, as moral, as "good," and sometimes as "bad," as Anglo members. The congregation expelled two unrepentant black sinners, a woman for adultery and a man for drinking, but it disciplined whites, too.[12]

Organizing a stable, independent religious community proved to be difficult. The ex-slaves lacked funds, could secure physical facilities in only a limited number of areas, and had difficulty acquiring appropriate religious materials. Nevertheless, an overwhelming majority of blacks had created or joined separate congregations and in many instances separate denominations by the early 1870s. Utilizing the aid of any agency that offered help—the American Missionary Association, other representatives of northern churches, the Freedmen's Bureau, benevolent native whites—but basically relying on their own strength, freedmen withdrew from southern churches. In Galveston, Negro minister I.S. Campbell, an agent of the Ohio Consolidated Baptist Convention, founded the Freedman's Baptist Church in 1865. Quickly after emancipation black Methodists in Galveston and Houston secured buildings for temporary use

and began holding services as well as regular school classes. By February 1866 the Houston Methodists had collected $600 to make a down-payment on a $1,200 lot for a permanent church.[13] Before the end of the year two other black congregations in Houston erected buildings for worship. The city's Negro community in 1870 included seven congregations with a total membership of 650 people. Five of the churches owned their own buildings and supported their own pastors.[14] In Austin during 1866 the First Methodist Church lost its Negro members, "with few if any exceptions," when they withdrew to join the newly established Austin Methodist Episcopal Church (North). In the city, even before the end of the war, blacks established the First Baptist Church (Colored). By the mid-1870s the Ebenezer Baptist, Sweet Home Baptist, and African Methodist churches were also founded.[15]

Negroes in smaller Texas towns and in the rural countryside also withdrew from Anglo churches. Led by two freedmen who had been ordained during the slave period, Negro Baptists in Waco separated from white services in June 1866, founded the New Hope Baptist Church, and used an abandoned foundry as their first home. By that time freedmen in Millican also had withdrawn and had collected $100 to help finance the reconstruction of a church-schoolhouse.[16] In 1867 Tyler blacks who had belonged to the white Baptist Church began their own services and secured the leadership of two ordained ministers and two licensed preachers. Their pastors also administered to "out-stations" around the countryside. Blacks around Meridian secured the services of Peter Robinson, who had been a preacher during slave times and had organized the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the first Negro church in Bosque County. Typically, freedmen in other areas turned to those who had conducted secret meetings during the slave days and beseeched them to secure religious materials and organize services.[17] Largely through their own efforts, Limestone County blacks by 1870 had established at least nine African Methodist and at least six Primitive Baptist Churches.[18]

Because of an almost universal lack of funds in the post war drive to found independent churches, freedmen of one denomination frequently cooperated with those of another. It was not unusual for the black community to collect a common fund and to erect a structure or to rent one building to be used by the entire community. Millican blacks solicited one such common fund. The first combination church-school-meeting houses built by freedmen in Columbia and Brazoria represented multi-denominational community projects.[19] In 1867 black Methodists and Baptists in Waco united to build a small frame church which they used on alternate Sundays. Six years later the two sects parted amicably, after tearing down the original structure, dividing the building materials, and constructing separate churches. In most areas of Travis County Methodists and Baptists used a common building, one sect for morning services and the other, afternoons. Freedmen in the Brenham suburb of Watrousville, a segregated shanty town, built a community center that met the religious needs of all denominations and also served as the headquarters of the Loyal League.[20] Although blacks sometimes had doctrinal differences and also occasionally struggled for control of the secular schools which were often held in churches, they tried to secure one building and use it on some type of rotation basis until individual sects could erect separate edifices. Further, when black congregations could not acquire any type of meeting house, members volunteered their homes for services. The Sweet Home Baptist congregation of Austin originally held services in the home of Mary Smith until they secured a permanent church in 1882. Founded in the mid-1870s, the Austin A.M.E. Church rotated its meetings, holding services in the homes of various members.[21]

In addition to cooperative self-help programs, the Negro community received aid in its religious endeavors from the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association. Believing in a close relationship between secular and religious education, bureau teachers, most of whom belonged to the association, conducted Sunday schools and church services in addition to regular schools. As early as September 1865, C.S. Tambling proudly reported that he had the largest Sabbath school in Galveston, with fifty pupils already reading the *Bible*. By 1869, 161 missionaries and native blacks operated seventy-four Sabbath schools in Texas for the bureau and administered to a total of 4,328 people. Before the bureau withdrew from the state in 1870, 211 instructors conducted eighty-two Sunday services for 4,338 seekers.[22]

In addition to supplying the bureau with teachers who also acted as religious leaders, the American Missionary Association and other benevolent societies furnished much needed reading materials to black congregations. Northern missionaries and native black leaders constantly requested *Bibles*, hymn collections, and other books. Although they never supplied the entire demand, the association, the American Bible Society, and the Freedmen's Aid Society periodically filled book orders and tried to insure that freedmen at least had *Bibles* if not other materials. Yet religious "tools" remained hopelessly inadequate. As late as 1869 blacks continued to beg bureau agents for religious materials. Sometimes freedmen asked for just one *Bible* not for a family but for an entire congregation.[23] Despite shortages of materials, missionaries who remained at their posts after the bureau left the state continued to place equal stress on secular and religious instruction. Reports from Galveston, Houston, and Corpus Christi divulged that underpaid, overworked teachers refused to cancel Sunday services and continued to work a seven-day week.[24]

Cooperating with the American Missionary Association and the black community, the bureau not only encouraged interest in religion with Sabbath day programs, it also provided funds, on a limited basis, for the building of community houses which served both as school buildings and churches. Officials could allocate no funds for "construction," but they could make grants for the "repair" of existing structures, "however crude." To qualify for grants, the black community had to secure title to a lot, erect some type of structure, and deed the property to a group of Negro trustees. The bureau then granted from $100 to $500, ostensibly for repair but in reality for construction. The average grant of $200, however, only partially met costs. Nevertheless, by 1870 black trustees held title to forty-three meeting houses which the bureau had helped them finance. In its building-use policy the bureau allowed no discrimination among different sects. Missionary workers or native blacks held meetings in common for all sects or in regular rotation by common agreement.[25] Black churches appeared remarkably similar, physically. Usually of frame construction with twin towers in front and with steps of logwood, most averaged thirty by sixty feet in floor space and had only a small seating capacity. Crude furnishings included slabwood benches and a pulpit. The earliest structures usually had dirt floors. Construction costs ranged from only a few hundred dollars to $3,000.[26]

Sometimes native Anglos, acting out of humanitarian concern, aided blacks in their attempts to organize separate churches. In 1866 a group of white Austinites joined freedmen in contributing donations for a church. A year later planters at Chances' Prairie gave the Negro community a church formerly used by whites. Some Anglos in Columbia subscribed funds for a freedman's school which produced a surplus that was applied to construction of a church. At Onion Creek, in Travis County, a landowner donated a lot and a building for a black

church. Even when whites did not aid freedmen with gifts of land or money, they sometimes helped the ex-slaves by organizing Sunday services for them.[27]

Once established, the black church demonstrated interest in all phases of Negro progress. Particularly, it gave immeasurable aid to educational programs for freedmen. Both before and after the Freedmen's Bureau left the state, churches offered their facilities for classrooms. One of the first bureau schools in Galveston, opened by September 1865, used the black Methodist Church. Two additional Negro schools in the city, opened by 1867, also used church facilities. In Houston African Methodists allowed schools to use their facilities and supplied at least one teacher.[28] In 1869 the freedmen of Corpus Christi still used one of their churches for regular classes because the Negro community could not raise funds to build a separate schoolhouse. At Savert House, near Halletsville, a black preacher organized a class of thirty-five children and promised regular attendance if the bureau would send a teacher.[29]

Of course, in some areas the church could do little to advance education. The African Methodists of Jefferson allotted space for classrooms, but in 1869 a bureau official reported that attendance had dropped because of the poor condition of the church. Nevertheless, churches continued to be used so frequently for classrooms that the first state superintendent for education in Texas, Jacob DeGress, extended them aid after the legislature created a public school system in 1871.[30]

Despite their poverty, the churches did not ignore higher education. In 1872 circuit riders for the African Methodists established Paul Quinn College in Austin, later moving it to Waco. The next year the Methodist Episcopal Church founded Wiley College in Marshall. In 1876 the Congregational Church, acting through the American Missionary Association, founded Tillotson College in Austin.[31]

While offering facilities to schools and establishing institutions of higher learning, church leaders aided education in yet another way. Preachers often served as school teachers. D.C. Lacy, an African Methodist minister, conducted one of the three freedmen's schools in Limestone County while a black Baptist pastor in Austin conducted one of the Travis County schools. In addition to his work as a barber and as a supervisor of an employment bureau for Negroes, Nace Duval of San Antonio served as an instructor and a preacher for local freedmen.[32]

Black churches also became centers for the social activities of the freedmen's community. Sunday services and church-sponsored events represented some of the few recreational outlets available to blacks. Ministers, in addition to their other duties, became social directors. The Negro churches in Houston sponsored frequent picnics and dances as well as fairs for the dual purposes of entertainment and fund raising. Festivities abounded, especially in May and June, and culminated in elaborate Juneteenth celebrations—on June 19, emancipation for black Texans—which included picnics, baseball tournaments, and a gala ball that night. In 1872 religious leaders in Houston also led a fund raising campaign that resulted in the purchase of "Emancipation Park," a ten-acre plot that provided a permanent outdoor social center for the community and a playground for children.[33]

Although black churches usually united to affect progress, sometimes doctrinal differences and local jealousies led to a breakdown in cooperation. The Negro minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) in Columbia secured funds for construction of a school and church and then appealed to the local bureau agent for enough aid to finish the project. But the agent expressed reservations because he feared that the preacher would discriminate against

members of other congregations in his policy decisions. If any bureau funds were to be used, the agent insisted that all the sects in the community exercise equal policy-making power. A short time later, he could only report that arguments among the different black denominations made it impossible to establish a bureau school in Columbia for the fall term in 1867.[34] Another bureau official held that cooperation often became competition as different sects tried to control churches which had been established for the use of all the Negro congregations in the community and tried to control schools as well, if they were held in the churches.[35]

Not all whites approved of black separation. Many religious associations, guided by paternalistic leaders, urged Negroes to remain in white churches. Some feared that freedmen might succumb to "Romanist" influence. Others, convinced that the "Ethiopian eunuch" lacked the mental ability to conduct his own affairs, urged their churches to limit the separationist tendency by refusing to ordain black ministers.[36]

Still other Anglos stressed the political ramifications of separationism. They argued that Negroes would fall under the influence of northern radicals who did not understand the "realities of Southern facts."[37] Some bemoaned the fact that in newly organized black congregations, like the African Methodist Church in Galveston, either northern wife or Negro preachers taught that Yankee soldiers were their great benefactors.[38] Later, during congressional Reconstruction, much to the disgust of many native Anglos, ministers of independent Negro congregations placed devotion to the Republican Party next to devotion to God. Most black churches—particularly the Methodist Episcopal (North) and A.M.E.—served as Loyal League meeting halls. One bureau representative charged that Negro pastors frequently preached politics instead of religion. They made political announcements from the pulpit, a practice also engaged in by their conservative white counterparts. Black pastors also welcomed speeches made by Loyal League organizers and sometimes led prayers for radical Republican political victories. As late as 1874 one white missionary, a Congregationalist who held a certain bias against Methodists and Baptists, complained that "ignorant" black ministers inflamed the emotions of the flocks and "excited" them against the Anglo community.[39]

Guided either by a humanitarian drive to help uplift what they believed to be an "inferior" people or by the desire to continue to use religion to control blacks, many whites "allowed" or actually encouraged freedmen to remain in Anglo churches. The Longview Christian Church, which had slave members before the war, continued to administer to the black community in segregated services and even continued to allow them to bury their dead in segregated areas of the church grave-yard. Similarly, the Liberty-Sylvania Church of Christ in Ellis County continued to accept Negro members on a segregated basis. The minister of the white Presbyterian Church in Houston organized for freedmen special services which commenced on Sunday after Anglos had concluded their worship. At Jamestown, in Smith County, a Baptist minister encouraged blacks to remain in his church, but to please his white congregation he isolated freedmen by giving them separate services. Insulted, most Negroes quickly withdrew and formed their own church.[40]

Even after separation some white churches extended limited aid to blacks. Through 1867 the Church of Christ in Circleville allowed a Negro congregation to use its facilities. The African Methodists in Houston used in Methodist Episcopal Church (South), until they could purchase a separate meeting house. From 1867 to 1869 Anglo minister R.A. Eddleman administered to freedmen in Weatherford who had established their own Colored Methodist Episcopal

Church. Then he influenced the Methodist conference to ordain a deacon of the black congregation who could take over the church.[41] Like Eddleman, some ministers of the Presbyterian Church also continued to help blacks. One preacher at Green Hill held evangelistic meetings through the 1870s, serving Anglos and Negroes alike. The East Texas Presbytery commended S.F. Tenney's work with freedmen around Crockett and urged others to follow his example. Pursuing this advice, Robert McCoy began services for blacks in Palestine and Crockett. Other Presbyterians contributed to a fund that sent freedmen Alexander Turner of Paris to Tuscaloosa Seminary in Alabama. As late as 1876 a white Methodist still visited a black church in Corpus Christi twice a month to deliver sermons.[42]

The majority of Anglos, however, gave no aid to Negro churches nor did they encourage blacks to remain in white congregations. Rather, they demanded the withdrawal of freedmen because they feared that blacks would dominate integrated churches. Certainly, most Anglos knew that they could no longer control blacks as they had before emancipation. Worse, whites believed that continued fellowship might encourage unservile behavior on the part of blacks and lead to dreaded social equality.[43] In the Anglo mind, experiences similar to that of the First Methodists in Austin justified this fear. In 1865 not only did freedmen withdraw from the congregation there, but they continued to hold school in the basement. When white trustees demanded the removal of the school, "uppity" freedmen demanded a $600 payment for labor which they had expended in helping erect the church. After a bureau agent intervened, trustees ultimately made a $200 compromise settlement to be rid of the freedmen.[44] Rather than face continuing "problems" with blacks which might include the question of integrated services, rights to use church space, or other controversial issues, many Anglos urged severance of all ties with former slave members.

Most white ministers in Texas also encouraged separation, by implication if not by expression. Episcopalian Bishop Alexander Gregg, an ex-slaveholder, piously announced that he favored a unified service, but he acknowledged that "realities" such as inadequate facilities necessitated separation.[45] No doubt, the "realities" also included basic white prejudice against freedmen. More extreme than Gregg, other Anglo ministers and church leaders believed that "separation ought to take place in every department of life."[46] Through the Reconstruction era and beyond, some white "Christians" even argued that integrated services would "antigonize God's ordained order of human society."[47] In 1869 James McCleery, superintendent of education for northwestern Louisiana, toured Northeast Texas, an area then included in his jurisdiction, and asked white preachers to help him establish schools and religious services for blacks. Their replies reflected the existing range of attitudes. A few agreed to help McCleery; most ignored him; and some promised to tar and feather him if they ever saw him again.[48]

Some white congregations became so determined to force blacks out of their churches that they took action counter to what previously had been church policy. Although the fathers of the Liberty-Sylvania congregation allowed freedmen into their church, some Anglo laymen objected. Faced with this hostility, most Negroes withdrew by late 1865, but one ex-slave who had joined the congregation in 1858 continued to attend services. Finally, he too withdrew after a group of terrorists confronted him, saying that he must either stay away or die. In 1868 freedmen around Fort Brown began worshipping with whites at the First Congregational Church, but Anglo prejudice forced a separation by 1870. Similarly, throughout the state most white congregations practiced such

discrimination that those blacks who did not voluntarily withdraw were soon forced out.[49]

Ironically, a part of the same element that drove blacks out of white churches sometimes attacked Negro gatherings for no apparent reason other than to force black subordination. In 1866 a mob of whites in Anderson County disbursed a Negro congregation and warned their minister not to preach again. In 1869 after a black service at Hopewell Methodist Church in Smith County, a group of "chivalry" rode up and indiscriminately shot into the congregation, apparently just for "fun." One freedman suffered a mortal wound, and others were robbed. Black churches in widely scattered areas reported similar terrorist attacks.[50]

Often, preachers, blacks and whites alike, faced verbal if not violent attacks because they held services for Negroes. In the Congregationalist Church at Corpus Christi, where as late as 1871 Northern missionary Aaron Rowe made "no distinction . . . because of color," some whites complained that "if Parson Rowe would keep his Neggars out of his Church he would have a larger congregation."[51] In many areas white prejudice forced pastors like Rowe to stop ministering to blacks, even in separate services. In Paris Anglos used economic pressure and social ostracism to force two white Baptist preachers and a white Congregationalist pastor to stop attending freedmen. Ultimately they forced the Congregationalist, a Northerner, to stop preaching altogether.[52]

Sometimes, whites threatened physical violence against mnisters who continued to conduct services for blacks. Responding to the request of blacks in Ellis County, Anglo Methodist leader B.D. Austin administered to freedmen as well as to whites. On his third trip to meet with the Negroes, a group of local whites accosted him and threatened hanging if he continued to aid the blacks. Fearing for his life, he immediately severed his connections with the Negro congregation. Continued Anglo hostility eventually forced Austin to leave the county. In 1867 at Palestine whites stoned a Negro church, forced its congregation and its Anglo minister into the street, and warned the preacher that if he wanted to speak to freedmen again he could give his next sermon in hell.[53]

Frequently, attacks against black congregations, their preachers, and other supporters of the churches had obvious political explanations. As part of the general violence that developed in Reconstruction Texas, Anglos tried to intimidate and suppress the religious community and its leadership. In 1869 near Austin, a group of whites murdered George Porter because as a minister and teacher he gave leadership to fellow Negroes, counseled them on their rights, and sometimes complained to authorities about the ill-treatment meted out to under-aged black apprentices. Earlier a mob of whites in Boston threatened to shoot bureau agent William Kirkman's head off if he continued to support the freedmen's Sabbath school.[54] At Columbia a group of Anglos invaded a Negro church, called the black minister a "d____son of a b____h," and told him to stop preaching. When one of the party drew a gun, a layman tried to protect the pastor, but an Anglo told the layman to "go to h____l" and shot him dead. The white terrorists believed that they were attacking a political ally of the noted black politician G.T. Ruby.[55] In an 1871 incident the editor of the *Brenham Banner* warned "Old Charley" Childs, another black pastor who had become involved in politics, that he should take care of his own affairs and that he "had no right to dabble in politics."[56] In yet another instance whites in Grayson County murdered a black preacher in 1876 because they wanted to eliminate the leaders of the county's Negro community and thus control it politically and economically.[57]

In retrospect, the withdrawal of blacks from white churches represented one of the first and most important forms of racial separation. On one hand, the "gap" between the races became even wider, as common meetings which could have inspired understanding, cooperation, and brotherhood ceased to exist. On the other hand, from separation Negroes gained control over a central community institution, control they could not even share in the Anglo church. In many instances freedmen withdrew from white churches voluntarily; but often racism and, in fewer cases, violence influenced their choice.

When they made the decision to withdraw, the various black religious denominations demonstrated remarkable resilience. Despite lack of funds, materials, and building space, Negro congregations—a majority being Baptist and Methodist—rapidly formed, with separation being virtually complete by 1870. With their own collections and with the help of the Freedmen's Bureau, the American Missionary Association, other benevolent societies, and a few native whites, freedmen secured whatever religious materials they could, recruited their own pastors, and quickly built their own churches, with different denominations sometimes sharing facilities when it became necessary. Although separation represented an unfortunate break in the channels of communications between the races, withdrawal undoubtedly benefited the black community because "just another nigger" could be a "Mr. Somebody" for brief periods each week.

NOTES

[1]For a brief overview of slave patterns in Texas see James Smallwood, "Black Texans During Reconstruction, 1865-1874" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1974), 40-85.

[2]*Ibid.*

[3]John Lee Eighmy, "The Baptist and Slavery: An Examination of the Origins and Benefits of Segregation," *Southwestern Social Sciences Quarterly,* XLIX (December, 1968), 666-673; DuBose Murphy, *A Short History of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Texas* (Dallas, 1935), 74; H.T. Kealing, *History of African Methodism in Texas* (Waco, 1885), *passim;* also see Lawrence L. Brown, *The Episcopal Church in Texas, 1838-1874* (Austin, 1963), and Macum Phelam, *A History of Early Methodism in Texas, 1817-1866* (Dallas, 1924).

[4]Eighmy, "The Baptist and Slavery," 673; Alexander Doubleday to James Kirkman, Monthly Report, April 1, 1867, Letters Sent, vol. 93, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Galveston, Texas, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., hereafter abbreviated BRFAL, RG 105, NA; Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York, 1933), 2-3, 279-281.

[5]Botkin (ed.), *Lay My Burden Down,* 26, 78; Prentis W. Chunn, Jr., "Education and Politics, A Study of the Negro in Reconstruction Texas" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Southwest Texas State Teachers College, 1957), 172-175; John J. Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas* (New York, 1883), 358; Loud, "Methodism and the Negroes," 94; J.H. Beadle, *Western Wilds and the Man who Redeem Them* (Detroit, 1877), 417.

[6]William Evans to Aaron Rowe, October 15, 1873, American Missionary Association Archives, Armistad Research Center, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana, hereafter abbreviated AMA Archives; *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph,* October 2, 4, 1865.

[7]George Guilmenot to Michael Strieby, December 30, 1875, George W. Swann to Strieby, January 24, 1876, Mitchell Thompson to Strieby, March 3, 1876, AMA Archives.

[8]J.W. Dawson, "Missions and Missionaries," 342-343.

[9]*Harrison Flag* (Marshall), November 22, 1865; John Mason Brewer, *Negro Legislators of Texas and Their Descendants* (1935; reprint, Austin, 1970), 116.

[10]Statement of Willis Easter, Federal Writers' Project, "Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves" (Washington, 1941), Texas Narratives, XVI, pt. 2, 1-4; statement of William Adams, *ibid.*, pt. 1, 5-8; David G. McComb, *Houston: The Bayou City* (Austin, 1969), 85-86; Lawrence D. Rice, *The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900* (Baton Rouge, 1971), 272.

[11]D.L. Vest, *Watterson Folk of Bastrop County, Texas,* 199; Mary A. Lavender, "Social Conditions in Houston and Harris County, 1869-1872" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Rice Institute, 1950), 179-180; Thompson to Strieby, May 21, 1877, AMA Archives; for temperance drives also see Thompson to Edmond Cravath, March 24, 1874, W.B. Lacy to Cravath, April 10, 1874, AMA Archives.

[12]A.J. Holt, "A Brief History of Union Baptist Church (Old North Church)," ed. by Jerry M. Self, *East Texas Historical Journal,* IX (March, 1971), 65.

[13]*Flake's Daily Bulletin* (Galveston), September 7, 1865; *Galveston Daily News,* October , 1865; *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph,* February 14, 1866.

[14]Byron Porter to William Sinclair, Monthly Report, September 1, 1866, Letters Sent, vol. 100, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Houston, Texas BRFAL, RG 105, NA; Lavender, "Social Conditions in Houston and Harris County, 1869-1872," 178.

[15]Minutes, February 22, 1867, Board of Trustees, First Methodist Church, Austin, Texas; John Mason Brewer (ed.), *An Historical Outline of the Negro in Travis County* (Austin, 1940), 18; "Clarksville," Travis County file, Archives, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, Texas; *Wesley Methodist Church* (Austin, 1965), 16.

[16]William H. Curry, *A History of Early Waco* (Waco, 1968), 28-29; George Honey to Strieby, April 4, 1866, AMA Archives.

[17]J.M. Carroll, *A History of Texas Baptists* (Dallas, 1923), 347; B.A. Botkin (ed.), *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago, 1945), 77-79; *New Orleans Tribune,* November 12, 1865.

[18]Walter F. Cotton, *History of Negroes of Limestone County from 1860 to 1939* (Mexia, Texas, 1939), 11-15, 28.

[19]Honey to Strieby, April 4, 1866, AMA Archives; James Hutchinson to J. Kirkman, Monthly Report, April 30, 1867, Letters Sent, vol. 78, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Columbia, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA.

[20]Honey to Strieby, April 4, 1866, AMA Archives; *Texas Republican* (Marshall), September 25, 1868; Curry, *A History of Early Waco,* 29; Hutchinson to J. Kirkman, Monthly Report, April 30, 1867, Letters Sent, vol. 78, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Columbia, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA; Brewer (ed.), *An Historical Outline of the Negro in Travis County,* 18.

[21]Joseph Welch to E.M. Whittlesey, [], 1869, Letters Sent, vol. 6, Superintendent of Education, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA; Brewer (ed.), *An Historical Outline of the Negro in Travis County,* 18; "Clarksville," Travis County File, Archives, Texas Historical Commission.

[22]Charles S. Tambling to Whipple, September 30, 1865, AMA Archives; Commissioner's Report, October 20, 1869, U.S. House of Representatives, *House Executive Documents,* 41st Cong., 2d Sess., 1869 (Serial 1412), Document no. 1, vol. I, pt.

2, 519; James W. Alvord, *Tenth Semi-Annual Report of Schools for Freedmen* (Washington, 1870), 37-38.

[23]Tambling to Whipple, September 30, 1865, AMA Archives; James McCleery to Secretary, American Bible Society, December 15, 1869, McCleery to R.S. Rust, December 20, 1869, Letters Sent, vol. 440, Superintendent of Education, Shreveport, Louisiana, BRFAL, RG 105, NA.

[24]See, for example, Barnes Institute, Monthly Report, February, 1871, Report of Corpus Christi Schools, February, 1871, Monthly Report of Gregory Institute, February, 1871, AMA Archives.

[25]Welch to Whittlesey, [] 1869, Letters Sent, vol. 6, Superintendent of Education, Texas, McCleery to Whittlesey, December 6, 7, 1869, April 25, 1870, McCleery to David Heath, September 2, 1869, Letters Sent, vol. 440, Superintendent of Education, Shreveport, Louisiana, BRFAL, RG 105, NA.

[26]Curry, *History of Early Waco,* 29; *Wesley Methodist Church* (Austin), 16; Lawrence D. Rice, *The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900,* 274.

[27]Fannie Campbell to Whipple, November 24, 1866, Honey to Strieby, April 4, 1866, AMA Archives; P.F. Duggan to J. Kirkman, Monthly Report, August 1, 1867, Letters Sent, vol. 78, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Columbia, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA; Brewer (ed.), *An Pistgcicap Vulpins mf hhs Nagrmiin LruvisiCvunhy,* 18; *New Orleans Tribune,* November 12, 1865.

[28]*Flake's Daily Bulletin,* September 7, 1865; *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph,* October 4, 1865; A. Doubleday to J. Kirkman, Monthly Report, March 1, 1867, Letters Sent, vol. 93, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Galveston, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA; McComb, *Houston,* 57.

[29]Louis Stevenson to Welch, September 12, 1869, Letters Sent, vol. 118, Assistant Superintendent of Education, Texas, A.K. Foster to R.P. Tendick or B.F. Williams, [], 1869, Letters Received, Assistant Superintendent of Education, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA.

[30]Stevenson to Roberts, April 26, 1869, Letters Sent, vol. 118, Assistant Superintendent of Education, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA; Claude Elliott, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* LVI (July, 1952), 9; William R. Davis, *The Development and Present Status of Negro Education in East Texas* (New York: Columbia Teachers College, 1934), 30.

[31]I.B. Loud, "Methodism and the Negroes," in Olin W. Nail (ed.), *History of Texas Methodism, 1900-1960* (Austin, 1961), 97, 102.

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[33]Lavender, "Social Conditions in Houston and Harris County, 1869-1872," 257-259; Vest, *Watterson Folk of Bastrop County* (Waco, 1963), 199-202.

[34]Duggan to J. Kirkman, Monthly Report, July 20, 1867, September 1, 1867, Letters Sent, vol. 78, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Columbia, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA.

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[36]J.W. Dawson, "Missions and Missionaries," in L.R. Elliott (ed.), *Centennial Story of Texas Baptists* (Dallas, 1936), 47; J.L. Walker and C.P. Lumpkin, *History of the Waco*

Baptist Association of Texas (Waco, 1897), 51-52; Carroll, *A History of Texas Baptists,* 342-343.

[37]Carroll, *A History of Texas Baptists,* 344.

[38]*Galveston Daily News,* November 12, 1865.

[39]Duggan to J. Kirkman, July 20, 1867, Letters Sent, vol. 78, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Columbia, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA; Lacy to Cravath, May 4, 1874, AMA Archives; Romey Fennell, "The Negro in Texas Politics, 1865-1874" (unpublished M.A. thesis, North Texas State University, 1963), 72.

[40]Carter E. Boren, *Religion on the Texas Frontier* (San Antonio: The Naylor Press, 1968), 47; Carroll, *A History of Texas Baptists,* 347.

[41]*Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph,* February 14, 1866; Stephen D. Eckstein, *History of the Churches of Christ in Texas, 1824-1950* (Austin, 1963), 199; H. Smythe, *Historical Sketch of Parker County and Weatherford, Texas* (St. Louis, 1877), 201-202.

[42]Thompson to Strieby, July 26, 1876, AMA Archives; William S. Red, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Texas* (Austin, 1936), 167-170; Davis, *The Development and Present Status of Negro Education in East Texas,* 28.

[43]B.C. Church to Strieby, February 9, 1875, AMA Archives; Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of Negroes in Texas, 1528-1971* (Austin, 1974), 72-75.

[44]Minutes, February 22, 1867, Board of Trustees, First Methodist Church, Austin.

[45]Wilson Gregg, *Alexander Gregg, First Bishop of Texas,* ed. by Arthur H. Noll (Sewanee, Tennessee, 1912), 92.

[46]Carroll, *A History of Texas Baptists,* 343.

[47]R. Douglas Brackenridge, *Voice in the Wilderness: A History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Texas* (San Antonio, 1968), 150-151.

[48]McCleery to Alvord, September 7, 1869, Letters Sent, vol. 440, Superintendent of Education, Shreveport, Louisiana, BRFAL, RG 105, NA.

[49]Boren, *Religion on the Texas Frontier,* 49; Jerimiah Porter to Cravath, December 19, 1871, W.J. Evans to Cravath, March 3, 1874, Thompson to Cravath, April 20, 1874, AMA Archives.

[50]"Record of Felonies Committed in Texas, 1866-1869," vol. I, Fifth Military District, Record Group 393, National Archives, hereafter abbreviated as 5th MD, RG 393, NA; clipping of *Tyler Index,* March 20, 1869, in *ibid.*

[51]Rowe to Cravath, September 25, 1872, AMA Archives.

[52]Evans to Cravath, March 3, September 4, 1874, *ibid.*

[53]Brackenridge, *Voice in the Wilderness,* 90-91; Elliott, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 16.

[54]"Complaint," September 29, 1869, Headquarters post of Austin, unidentified newspaper clipping, September 1869, in "Reports of Scouts, Indian Depredations and Crimes," 5th MD, RG 393, NA.

[55]*Austin Republican,* September 15, 1869.

[56]*Brenham Banner,* November 30, 1871.

[57]W.A. Irving to President U.S. Grant, 1876, U.S. House of Representatives, *House Executive Documents,* 44th Cong., 2 Sess., 1876 (Serial 1755), Document no. 30, 137.

AN EAST TEXAS AT AN ORIENTAL COURT: RICHARD BENNETT HUBBARD, MINISTER TO JAPAN, 1885-1889

by Jean S. Duncan

On March 31, 1885, the announcement that President Grover Cleveland had nominated Richard Bennett Hubbard of Texas as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan was made public.[1] Hubbard, a Georgian by birth and an East Texan by choice, having settled in Smith County in 1853, was a graduate of Mercer University and attended the University of Virginia before receiving his degree in law from Harvard in 1853. He established what became a lucrative law practice in Tyler, and almost immediately became enmeshed in state and national politics. An unswerving and vocal Democrat, he achieved notoriety as an effective stump speaker and was in great demand as a political orator. His service to the party in the election of James Buchanan in 1856 won for him an appointment as District Attorney for the Western District of Texas, a position he resigned in 1858 to seek and win election as the youngest member of the Eighth Legislature, representing Smith County.[2]

Hubbard's political career was temporarily interrupted by service as a colonel in the Confederate Army and the resultant disfranchisement in the early post-war years. Meantime, his private fortune had been depleted, and the plantation which he had inherited on the death of his father in 1864 was not economically profitable. However, in 1872 he took the general amnesty oath and resumed his political activities. His active role as an elector for Liberal Republican Horace Greeley in 1872 laid the groundwork for the restoration of Democratic control of Texas, and from the ashes of the slanderous campaign of 1873, Hubbard emerged as Lieutenant-Governor.[3] He was re-elected in February, 1876, and on the resignation of Governor Richard Coke to take office as United States Senator in December of that year, Hubbard became Governor of Texas.

His years as Governor were stormy, and Hubbard faced enormous problems, most of which were not resolved during his term of office. He did accomplish some reform of the penitentiary system, and he attempted to halt fraud in the irrigation companies and in land sales. He was less successful in protecting the frontier from hostile Indians, and in restraining outlaws. War with Mexico was almost a constant threat, but was averted in spite of a newspaper campaign to stir support for military action. One of Hubbard's greatest accomplishments, perhaps, was the encouragement of economic progress in the state through his efforts in behalf of stimulating immigration and supporting the construction of railroads.[4]

Political controversy was inevitable, and Hubbard lost his bid for renomination in 1878, but continued to be active in the Democratic party. In 1884 he was elected as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention where he served both as chairman of the Texas delegation and as temporary chairman of the national convention. When Grover Cleveland won the nomination, Hubbard stormed the state and large portions of the mid-west for the party.[5] His faithful service and loyalty through the years made him a deserving candidate for an honorable appointment by the Democratic administration, and his nomination to the post as Minister to Japan was considered a just reward for services rendered.

Jean S. Duncan is an Associate Professor of History at Sam Houston State University.

The Tokyo mission was ranked in importance behind those of London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, but was significant because of the emerging status of the Empire of Japan.[6] From the Perry contacts in 1854 through the treaties of 1857 and 1858 negotiated by Consul General Townshend Harris, Japan had been relegated to a subordinate position to the Great Powers by the unequal restrictions gained through coercion. In the 1860s a series of upheavals brought constitutional changes within the Empire, and Japan began to emerge as a potentially powerful political, economic, and military nation. The Great Powers, however, were reluctant to grant equal status to the Oriental Empire, while Japanese leaders seemed equally determined to achieve that status through treaty revision.

United States Minister John Bingham, whom Hubbard succeeded, had laid the groundwork for revision treaties, and had recommended that the United States conclude a separate treaty with Japan since the other Great Powers were uncooperative. But President Arthur's administration had been unwilling to follow his suggestion. When Hubbard arrived in Japan in the spring of 1885, he had read extensively on the subject of Japan and Japanese-American relations and was already inclined to view the Japanese position favorably. He utilized his first few weeks to study the books and documents at the Legation, and came to admire the Japanese people and to believe that Japan deserved recognition as an equal power. He also determined to use every effort to resolve as many of the outstanding problems between Japan and the United States as possible.

A number of minor issues took much of his time.[7] One problem involved the protection of fur seal and sea otter fisheries which were threatened. Hubbard met with Acting Foreign Minister Count Ito in the fall of 1887, and an unofficial agreement between the two men provided for reciprocal protection. The official agreement was delayed until after Hubbard's mission due to inaction by the State Department, but an incident involving an armed attack on a British schooner in July, 1888, clearly indicated that an international agreement was needed. The informal discussions and negotiations by Hubbard laid the foundation for the formal agreements that were reached later.

Another issue of special interest to American businessmen involved the piracy of American trade-marks and the reprinting of American books that were theoretically protected by copyright. Again agreement was reached informally when the Japanese government agreed to use administrative authority to prevent the reprinting of facsimile copies of American school books. The problem was complex because Japan was not a signatory of the Treaty of Paris on international copyrights, and also because of the intense opposition from Japanese businessmen. Obviously a formal agreement was needed, and this apparently would have to await treaty revision.

The most satisfactory accomplishment of the Hubbard mission was the negotiation of the first Extradition Treaty with Japan on April 29, 1886,[8] after long and tedious discussions precipitated by the arrest by Japanese authorities of a California fugitive, Calvin Pratt. Pratt was turned over to the American Legation, but the other Treaty Powers, especially Great Britain, criticized the American request for his arrest, arguing that under the right of extraterritoriality, American officials should have arrested him without any reference to Japanese authorities. Hubbard disagreed with this position. He asked the State Department for authority to conclude a definitive treaty on the matter, and after receiving authorization, concluded the agreement. Final ratifications were exchanged September 30, 1886, after some minor difficulties over amendments and punctuation had been resolved. Reception of the treaty in both the United States and Japan was favorable, and the general concensus was that it marked an important step towards international equality for Japan.

It is evident from his correspondence with the State Department and the entries in his diaries that Hubbard considered treaty revision his most important task in Japan. He examined the archives on the subject for the past decade and found that his predecessor had been authorized to participate in an earlier conference in 1884. He held preliminary meetings with ministers of the other Treaty Powers, including British Minister Sir Francis Plunkett, with whom he maintained cordial relations in spite of their differences. It seemed to Hubbard that the other ministers were aware that the time had come for treaty revision, but there were wide differences of opinion on issues such as consular jurisdiction and the tariff as well as extraterritoriality. The conference was postponed on several occasions, but in the meantime some preliminary work was done in preparation for the forthcoming meeting.

One issue which vitally affected American businessmen involved the standard of refined kerosene oils. Japan favored a higher burning test standard than the United States considered sufficient because the lower burning test endangered the safety of the large cities in which most buildings were of wood structure. At the same time, Japan wanted to increase the duty from five percent to fifteen percent. Hubbard spent long hours in discussions with the Japanese Foreign Minister, Count Inouye, in an effort to come to some agreement. The Count promised to recommend to his government that the lower burning standard for kerosene be approved, and then requested that Hubbard concede Japan's position on the higher tariff. This Hubbard rejected, but assured Inouye that the tariff issue would be met at the proper time in a spirit of fairness and justice, and of compromise, if necessary. Hubbard realized that it was his duty to resist any unfair discrimination against the largest American export to Japan, a condition which would result if both the standard and the tariff were raised.

American missionaries in Japan were concerned that treaty revision would affect them adversely, and Secretary of State Bayard forwarded some of their suggestions to Hubbard. Hubbard agreed that a sudden and radical departure from extraterritorial privileges to a comparatively untried judicial system for Japan would be largely experimental. He did not feel that it would be unreasonable to provide for a probationary period, as Great Britain suggested, adding, "It is not even remotely anticipated that the discussions at the approaching Treaty conference will relate to any proposition looking to an *immediate* resumption of *complete national autonomy* by Japan."[9] He did think that it would be fortunate for Japan if there were unanimity of opinion by the signatory powers on the probationary feature of the revised treaties.

The Treaty Conference assembled on May 1, 1886, at the Japanese Foreign Office, with all powers represented. Organization was completed, and Hubbard reported that the agenda constituted almost two thousand pages, not including the tariff articles. Not unexpectedly, the Conference adjourned after the initial meeting to give the delegates an opportunity to review the order of business and for individual conferences. The Conference reconvened on May 22, but it was soon evident that there was little hope for harmonious action. Hubbard reported that, in his view, "European Powers have their hand on Japan's throat and had rather *strangle* than *relieve!*"[10] He seriously considered recommending that the United States withdraw from the Conference and negotiate separately with Japan, and indicated after the three long and inharmonious sessions in May and June that this action would be in line with the traditional policy of no entangling alliances. However, after a private meeting with Count Inouye, Hubbard agreed to remain at the Conference, but he found himself in contention against the other nations and in support of Japan.

After an adjournment during the summer months the Conference resumed in September, and met intermittently over the next several months. Hubbard

was discouraged with the lack of progress, and after an especially frustrating session involving the question of which languages should be used, Hubbard reported that if an agreement had not been reached then, he intended to have said to Japan that the United States would treat with her separately as an independent nation.

It was not until February, 1887, that any significant progress was evident. The *ad valorem* schedule proposed by Japan had been adopted, and the Special Tariff Committee was considering the schedule for specific duties. Hubbard learned, however, that Japanese officials had been making guarantees to the European powers without consulting him, and he came to the conclusion that the Japanese believed that the United States would accept anything, even commercial discrimination, if the European nations could at the same time be convinced to vote for the abolition of extraterritoriality. It was to the advantage of Japan to have the commercial and jurisdictional issues resolved simultaneously. Hubbard, however, believed the commercial questions could and should be resolved first, and that the jurisdictional issues should be reserved for consideration later.

In May, 1887, the Conference was ready to begin consideration of amendments to the Draft Commercial Convention, but after deliberations in which little was accomplished, the Conference adjourned. In the meantime, there were some unexpected problems in the Japanese Cabinet where several ministers opposed any concessions by Japan. As further opposition developed outside the Cabinet, it seemed that the adjournment was to be permanent. Hubbard assured Inouye that the United States stood ready to act either independently or in cooperation with the other powers to recognize the autonomy of the Empire. However, the disruption within the Japanese government frustrated any hopes of immediate treaty revision. Count Inouye resigned and was temporarily replaced by Count Ito, who also served as Prime Minister and who was himself succeeded in February, 1888, by Count Okuma. At the same time, there was continued intrigue among the Japanese and the other foreign powers.

Finally, in December, 1888, after the defeat of the Democratic administration in the United States, Hubbard reported that Japan had submitted to him confidentially a proposal to make a separate treaty of comity, commerce, and navigation. He felt it desirable that the United States conclude such a treaty, and asked for confirmation of his power to do so. He received the necessary authorization on January 7, 1889, and the treaty was ready, but Count Okuma delayed final approval and it was not until February 20 that the treaty was signed. It reached Washington after the change in administration and was not approved.

Hubbard realized that the Japanese were deliberately using delaying tactics as leverage to convince the other Treaty Powers to negotiate separately, but he hoped that the United States would be the first nation to sign such an agreement with Japan. The rejection of the treaty by the Republican administration meant that this would not be the case; by the summer of 1889 Germany and Mexico had signed treaties with Japan, and Russia, Austria, and Great Britain were expected to follow soon. John F. Swift, Hubbard's successor, wrote that the "supposed agreement" of the United States had brought down the entire fabric of existing treaty institutions in Japan.[11] If this analysis is correct, Hubbard's objective had been achieved.

The treaty with Japan, which was redrawn formally June 20, 1894 and became effective July 17, 1899, was, in substance, the same treaty which Hubbard negotiated during his last months in Japan.[12] It was a Treaty of

Commerce and Navigation consisting of twenty articles with some amendments, and signalled what seemed at the time to be friendly and equal relations between the two countries. It was considered of far-reaching importance because it did away with the old treaty methods which had been used for almost a half-century, and, as similar treaties between other countries and Japan became effective simultaneously, it marked Japan's recognition for the first time as an equal in all respects to the other nations.

Almost four years after his appointment to Japan, Hubbard prepared to leave. His patience and persistence were among the qualities which aided him in the negotiations. His cosmopolitan tastes, his intelligence and quick wit, and his gregarious personality contributed to the relish with which he enjoyed the social life which his position permitted him. His diaries are filled with references to dinners, some at the Imperial Palace, at which Hubbard and his wife enjoyed the rich food and wines and the lavish hospitality extended by the Royal Family of Japan and by members of the diplomatic corps. Hubbard was especially pleased by the warm reception accorded his wife by the Empress. He was a guest at the ceremony for the promulgation of the new constitution in February, 1889, and for the celebrations and reception which followed. The celebrations, with dinners and dancing, lasted for two days and were followed by a Royal Pageant which amazed Hubbard.

Unfortunately his term in Japan was also one of tragedy for Hubbard. His wife, the former Janie Roberts of Tyler, died in the summer of 1887 after a long and intermittent illness with symptoms similar to cholera. Hubbard himself was often ill and was plagued with obesity, which he made periodic, but not very successful, attempts to overcome. He was often worried about sickness which seemed to endanger his mother, his daughter and her children, and his son-in-law, Frederick S. Mansfield, all of whom had joined him in Japan where Mansfield took the position of First Secretary at the American Legation.

Hubbard's return to Tyler in June, 1889 was something of a triumphant procession. He was met at Mineola by a special train and a delegation to escort him and his wife's remains to his home. After a few weeks Hubbard resumed normal activities, receiving more than fifty invitations to speak in the first few months of his return. Many of these he declined, but he made appearances in a number of towns in East Texas and visited New York, Boston, and other cities in the east. He delivered a series of lectures on Japan and the Orient and worked on the manuscript of a book which was published in 1899. He also continued his interest in politics, though less actively than in the past.[13]

Hubbard died after a short illness on July 12, 1901, The funeral procession was described as the largest and most solemn pageant ever witnessed in Tyler, with an escort of a large detail of the Horace Chilton Volunteers in full uniform, marching to the muffled drum's beat and followed by some fifty Confederate veterans of the Albert Sidney Johnston Camp, No. 48, of which Hubbard had been a member.[14] After the tributes and eulogies at the First Baptist Church, the procession moved to Oakwood Cemetery where Hubbard was laid to rest in the plot next to the remains of his wife, Janie. An East Texan whose accomplishments and services to his state and nation have rarely been exceeded, Richard Bennett Hubbard seems to deserve the epitath, however trite, "He served his people well."

NOTES

[1]Chicago *Tribune*, April 1, 1885; Washington *Post*, April 1, 1885. The announcement received a mixed response in Texas newspapers where a number of editors expressed the

view that Hubbard should have had a post with more prestige, and some even considered the Japanese appointment as banishment. See Galveston *Daily News*, April 2, 4, 5, 6, 1885; Austin *Daily Democratic Statesman*, April 1, 2, 5, 1885; San Antonio *Daily Statesman*, April 5, 1885; Waco *Daily Examiner*, May 1, 1885; Fort Worth *Daily Gazette*, April 20, 1885.

[2]The earliest biographical sketches of Hubbard were published by contemporaries who apparently relied on information supplied by him. William De Ryee and R.E. Moore, *The Texas Album of the Texas Legislature, 1860* (Austin, 1860), and William S. Speer and John H. Brown (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of the New West* (Marshall, Texas, 1881), 30-40.

[3]Jean S. Duncan, "Richard Bennett Hubbard: Texas Politician and Diplomat," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas A&M University, 1972), 33-66.

[4]J.S. Duncan, "Richard Bennett Hubbard and State Resumption of the Penitentiary, 1876-78," *Texana*, XII (1974), 47-55; Executive Correspondence, 1876-1879, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas; Richard B. Hubbard, Governor's Private Letter Copybook, No. Two, courtesy of Mrs. Louise Mansfield Porter, Hollywood, California. A summary of Hubbard's record appeared in the Dallas *Morning Call* and was reprinted in the Victoria *Advocate*, April 13, 1878.

[5]Chicago *Tribune*, July 7-11, 1884; T.R. Bonner, "A Sketch of the Life and Public Services of Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, Ex-Governor of Texas and Late Temporary Chairman of the National Democratic Convention at Chicago," in the Papers of Grover Cleveland, Microfilm Nos. 2373-2377, Texas A&M University Library.

[6]Hubbard's own account of his mission is Richard B. Hubbard, *The United States in the Far East; or Modern Japan and the Orient* (Richmond, Va., 1899). The fullest account of the mission is in Payson J. Treat, *Diplomatic Relations Between The United States and Japan* 1853-1895, (2 vols.; Stanford University, California, 1932).

[7]Department of State, Despatches Nos. 1-574, 1885-1889, from United States Minister to Japan. Microfilm, in author's possession. Richard B. Hubbard Diary, 1886, 1889, courtesy of Mrs. Louise Mansfield Porter, Hollywood, California.

[8]Hubbard, Diary, 1886, entries for April 29, 30.

[9]*Ibid.*, entry for March 5.

[10]*Ibid.*, entry for May 28.

[11]Swift to Blaine, July 16, 1889, Department of State Despatches, No. 25.

[12]A summation of the terms of the Treaty of February 20, 1889, is found in Treat, *Diplomatic Relations*, II, 289-290. See Hubbard, *The United States in the Far East*, 345-384, for his comments on the treaty which was to be effective July 17, 1899, the articles and amendments of the treaty, and some of the speeches he made during his negotiations in Japan.

[13]Duncan, "Richard Bennett Hubbard: Texas Politician and Diplomat," 230-247.

[14]*Daily Tyler Democrat Reporter*, July 15, 1901.

"CAN'T HURT, AND MAY DO YOU GOOD": A STUDY OF THE PAMPHLETS THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD USED TO INDUCE IMMIGRATION TO TEXAS, 1880-1930[1]

by Patrick J. Brunet

The image of Texas as viewed by non-Texans has changed through the years. At different times Texas projected an impression of being a land of cotton plantations, a cattleman's empire, an oilman's dream and generally a land of opportunity. After the Civil War, when the Texas' railroads desired to sell land they had received in grant for laying track in Texas, the railroads had to develop a marketable image of Texas to sell their lands and develop markets along their lines.[2] The purpose of this study is to describe what image, or images, one railroad, the Southern Pacific, and its affiliates, used in their promotional brochures and pamphlets from 1880 to 1930 to induce immigration to Texas.[3]

Pamphlets became a popular promotional tool in Texas sometime in the 1870s when they began to appear in appreciable numbers. Over the fifty year period two things were apparent in railroad promotional literature; first, the greatest number of pamphlets issued were to sell land and promote settlement, and second, the literature had a choice once the area was developed to either change purpose and become more useful or disappear. Since the main purpose of promoters was to sell lands, the number of pamphlets often drastically dropped once the available amount of saleable land was gone.[4]

Over the years 1880 to 1930 the promotional literature seems to divide itself into three time periods: 1880 to 1900, 1900 to 1915, and 1920 to 1930. Few pamphlets were issued between 1915 and 1919. Also, in the latter two groups, pamphlets can be divided by subject, focusing on geographic area, crops, or travelogs.

These are quite accurate groupings with one exception, the 1896 pamphlet, the *Coast Country of Texas*, which fits the 1900 to 1915 group. This pamphlet helps illustrate one of the problems of this type of literature. Four pamphlets were issued under the title *Coast Country of Texas:* an 1896 edition, 76 pages; a 1903 edition, 159 pages; a 1909 edition, 63 pages; and a 1912 edition, 45 pages. Pamphlets under a single title are, as often as not, fairly complete revisions. As a generality, if the literature uses the same content twice, it changes title. There are numerous examples of duplicate use of material but two of the best are the pamphlets *A Bit of a Trip into West Texas* and *West Texas, Its Soil, Climate and Possibilities*. They are exact duplicates except for the title.[5] There are duplicate titles, multiple editions, revisions, and confusion galore. Dates will be included to attempt to bring some order to the study.

What did the pamphlets say? For the most part, the Southern Pacific pamphlets gave information on location of tracts and securing title, topography, agricultural value of the soil, cost of moving to the area and a general description of towns and weather.[6] In the period from 1880 to 1900, there is a frequent mention of Texas history. In describing its history, the pamphlets demonstrated that Texas was already unique. Texas' early status as an independent nation proved their sense of empire, their independence, their self-reliance, and, by joining the union, showed their brotherhood with American ideals. In the

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Patrick J. Brunet is from Austin, Texas.

pamphlets, Texas history usually takes the form of either a discourse on an early battle or a litany of praises of the great men of the Republic. Texas, like all other states, tried to have the promotional literature show that its natural resources entitled it to a position in the states as first among equals. One method to prove this was to show the progression from frontier to civilization. As one early pamphleteer wrote,

> The popular idea of a Texan, in many localities, is that of a creature, unwashed and uncombed, with a brace of pistols at his waist, a bowie knife in his boot, and a whiskey bottle hung to the horn of his sattle. One who lives by outrage, and when unwell, 'kills a nigger' as other men take a tonic to invigorate the system and give tone to the general health. Yet all the state, with but few exceptions, presents examples of good order and decorum which more pretentious places would do well to follow.[7]

And not until 1912 did a Southern Pacific pamphlet on West Texas definitely state Texas was past its pioneering state.[8] Size was stressed and since Texas was then the largest state, with more land available and more railroads, few opportunities to emphasize this point were lost.

However, there are some characteristics of the literature that, if not unique, were certainly unusual. One is that, while promotional pamphlets of this boom period, to quote the Chicago Tribune, "piled it on thick,"[9] Texas promotional literature is fairly subdued. Promoters in Texas possibly saw the excesses in promotional literature of other railroads and the resultant wave of anti-railroad sentiment. Still, flowery language and a bit of exaggeration was necessary because the Southern Pacific was trying to sell a paradise, a perfect home for the yeoman. More than any other state, Texas had a pure climate, fertile soil, abundant rainfall and a refined and cultural population. An 1876 pamphlet says it best:

> It is customary to speak of Texas as THE LAZY MAN'S COUNTRY simply because, from its mild and salubrious climate, men may live and be comfortable in houses of frail construction, while the prolific fertility of the soil, out of which particles of palatable food may be produced every month of the year, with countless beeves on the prairies, limitless herds of sheep on the range, and thousands of horses with [no] one to ride them have reduced the cost of living to the minimum of exertion and labor.[10]

All the buoyant optimism and the expansive and exploitive energy went into the belief that as Americans and Texans, they could only live in a productive region. Logic and Destiny demanded that Texas be fertile and fertile she became. This promotion was more than just attracting newcomers; it was sustaining, or attempting to sustain, the idea of America as garden!

As the faults of the northern and central Great Plains became more widely known, Texas held open promises that its more northerly neighbors could not keep. This land would be the location where financial success would be realized and personal redemption and social harmony take place. Those who failed to take hold of this opportunity were missing a unique claim to their share in the American Dream. Once a settler owed his piece of the garden, the prospect of further civilized development would be unlimited; music, painting, sculpture, and art would flourish, and one would be more than just cultured, one would also be robustly healthy and intelligent. The railroads did not seem to see the basic incongruity of their promotion. If the land was so fertile and life so easy, why did it need to be advertised? The Southern Pacific did not answer this until later.

Another point of small importance for the 1880-1900 period but one that may be contrasted with the later periods, is that in spite of the heavy inference in promotional material of Texas as garden, the pamphlets did not make a consistent appeal to farmers as did the promotional material from states further north. In fact, in reading many pamphlets of this period the impression is given that Texas is not just asking for farmers but for anyone. One possible reason for a less direct appeal to farmers is because of the presence of large land holdings in eastern Texas before 1900, the presence of cattlemen, and the belief any man could be a successful farmer.

There are some omissions, but given the social conscience and boosterism of the period, criticism cannot be too severe. Railroad freight rates, tenant farming, and the Grange are given little or no mention. Nor was tenancy mentioned despite the fact the tenancy rate in Texas was much higher than the national average.[11] Tenancy's greatest growth took place between 1890 and 1900 and led to the development of a number of farm organizations directed against this problem.[12] Outside of an infrequent note that Texas was white man's country, Blacks were ignored too.

The Southern Pacific had issued pamphlets under its corporate title as early as the 1880s. Until 1900 most pamphlets were issued under the sponsorship of an affiliate rail line, such as the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio. After 1900 there is a marked increase in the number of pamphlets under Southern Pacific sponsorship and a marked decrease in the number sponsored by its affiliates and rivals.

The Southern Pacific promotional pamphlets issued from 1900 to 1915 compared to the pamphlets of the first twenty years were more in number, more diverse in topic, more specific on each topic, and less prone to exaggeration. Some of the characteristics of the first group remained. Passages on the "permanent fertility" of the soil and statements like "in no cases have (crop) failure occurred" show that exaggeration and boosterism are still evident but not to the same degree as in the first period.[13]

The Southern Pacific seemed to answer the question of why they were promoting fertile lands most effectively in this period. Although the land was still advertised as being fertile, the quality of land now seemed irrelevant. Whether the land was fertile or whether the land was fit only for sagebrush, modern science and improved agricultural technique would make it fertile. The 1912 pamphlet *South West Texas for the Farmer* puts it best:

> Make a note of this: Southwest Texas is a country not subject to general law. It is unusual in climate, in products and crop returns. Its growing season long; the stimulus of warmth and moisture under irrigation and dry farming is surprising.[14]

This reasoning contains the appeal and the comfort of the slogan "the rain follows the flow." It was a perfect recruiting device. The garden image of Texas would not fail because of the uniqueness of the area and the power of the farmer.

The Southern Pacific was not attempting to draw just anybody. They hoped to draw purchasers from the north where experienced farmers abounded. To do this the Southern Pacific made its appeal as basic as possible:

> How does this strike you, Mr. Farmer? Does it not make plain to you the lack of business judgement you are exhibiting in staying on your high priced Northern farm when you can get richer and more productive land

> in East Texas for one-third the money and live in a climate that is kind to you the year round.[15]

Land prices of 3 to 10 dollars per acre unimproved and 10 to 30 dollars per acre improved farm land were used to entice the knowledgeable farmer. Numerous pamphlets listed profits per acre by crop. The Southern Pacific felt it could bend, if not suspend, the natural law of human frailty when it wrote:

> . . . for want is a thing unknown and poverty is a spectre that knocks at no farm door. No wonder, then, that men live long and women grow old gracefully, and children show, in lusty limb and ruddy cheek and sparkling eye, the satisfaction of their lives, the content and prosperous abundance that they have inherited—not without work, mind you, but as the affluent reward of industry.[16]

This promotion must have been somewhat successful, at least in arousing interest, because in 1909 one pamphlet proclaimed "So great has been the demand for these publications [i.e., *Ten Texas Topics* and *Timely Tips to Texas Truckers*] in the Northern states that several extra editions have been issued and distributed."[17] Furthermore numerous pamphlets made the point that Texas is not "a place for the poor farmer . . . He must be willing to learn; he must work hard and have some capital."[18] This narrowing of the focus of the promotion is a significant change from the earlier period. In stressing the successful farmer, the need for work, and the need for some capital the literature implies that Texas is not quite the garden previously envisioned and that some people will fail no matter how fertile the soil. To the respect that the literature was directed at Northern farmers, it indicated that Southern agriculture was not as "successful."[19] Further proof may be seen in the heavy emphasis on truck farms, fruit growing and smaller diversified crops. Titles such as *Facts and Figures for Farmers, Fruit Growers and Florists, Ten Texas Topics,* and *Timely Tips to Texas Truckers* underlie the Southern Pacific's attempt to diversity Texas agriculture. The direction was toward small farms with intensive agriculture and away from staple crops with heavy capital and labor costs. Cotton is only infrequently mentioned, and rice and sugar scarcely receive any attention. The move from cotton was necessitated by the emergence of the boll weevil as a major factor in the cotton culture, and the new market for fruit and truck crops in the north. The railroads became enamored with truck crops. They felt it paid more per acre, would encourage immigration, increase land values and employment, stimulate other industries such as box and canning factories, and build up a home market for products and manufactures and advertise Texas.[20] It also depended entirely on transportation.

The literature still professed a belief in Texas as garden. While the myth of the west as garden had failed in the northern plains, the Southern Pacific, with its need to develop trade along its Texas routes, still found the myth of the garden viable. By stressing diversified cash crops and improved farming methods they felt "any live progressive farmer could sell his stuff here to great advantage."[21] The railroad land and immigration forces felt farmers were still searching for an agricultural Shangri-La. The *Southwestern Immigration and Real Estate Review* in 1904 stated, "the same forces [i.e., railroad, land and immigration agents] expect to place this year 200,000 people in the New Southwest."[22] The promotional literature continued its belief in Texas as Empire, stating "Texas is not only an Empire in size, but it is also an Empire in the ability to produce for its own needs."[23]

Pamphlets on agriculture were written by experts. Government, academic and agricultural authorities made each statement genuine and reliable.

Prospective farmers saw pamphlets that were objective, stressed crops and techniques, and did this in greater detail than ever before. The majority of experts were college professors, generally from Texas A and M, and members of the state's various agricultural societies. In one 1903 pamphlet the editor claimed he was assisted by the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, the President of the University of Texas Board of Regents, the President of Texas A and M, and the State Entomologist, among others.[24]

By having a "qualified" writer do one pamphlet and then reissue it in whole or in part the Southern Pacific got excellent mileage out of its writers and was better able to promote Texas. An example of one such writer is L.H. Shelfer, an employee of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Around 1900 Shelfer was sent to the coast country of Texas by the U.S.D.A. to see if tobacco could be grown there. Sometime in 1903 he wrote a ten-page pamphlet for the Southern Pacific containing factual information on tobacco raising, curing and marketing. The same story on tobacco growing was published in another pamphlet and Shelfer was listed as a prominent successful tobacco grower in the pamphlet *Texas Coast Country*, also published in 1903. In all, he is the most visible expert with a minimum of eight publications.[25]

One Southern Pacific pamphlet that is notable for its objectivity is *Dry Farming in West Texas*. This 1907 publication was compiled from a U.S. Department of Agriculture bulletin, Nebraska and New Mexico Experimental Station reports, and a Dry Farming Congress bulletin. It is a practical, no-nonsense publication and does not make false promises:

> Dry farming demands unceasing labor. There is no mystic spell to produce plant life in a semi-arid district. The price of success is WORK-WORK-WORK and the expenditure of energy enough to meet the immediate requirements of each section of land and each crop. An easy-going farmer should not attempt dry farming, neither should a man who is financially unable to purchase the necessary machinery and to support himself while transforming his farm from the time hardened prairie to a productive field.[26]

Most of the Southern Pacific promotional pamphlets of this period are reliable to a large degree, but this pamphlet is exceptionally good. Dry farming in the first decade of the twentieth century was a new and controversial technique on the Great Plains. This pamphlet discusses both sides of that controversy.[27] Furthermore, it lists federal, state, and private agencies and their mailing addresses so interested persons could send for more information. It is also notable that this is the only pamphlet of this period which directly used state and federal agricultural pamphlets. As government publications are not under copyright law, it is somewhat surprising that the Southern Pacific and other railroads did not reprint more of the useful bulletins.

The shift away from self-serving proclamations was not without its own promotional angle. Prominent on many title pages are statements like the following attesting the pamphlet's veracity:

> The booklet is presented to the public as a statement of unadorned fact. Every claim it makes can be fully substantiated, care having been taken that it should contain no exaggeration, and, if it errs at all, it will be foundto be on the side of conservatism.[28]

The Southern Pacific must have felt farmers were skeptical because the railroad continued to make such declarations until 1931. Regardless of whether the Southern Pacific labeled its pamphlets factual or not, they did present an increase in practical information. It was also during this period that

specialization took place in the pamphlets, enabling labeling as to area, crop, or travel pamphlet. The pamphlets published from 1900 to 1915 are divided almost equally by subject, either crops or areas. Those pamphlets which devote themselves to an area frequently try to go into detail in raising certain crops that were believed suited to that area. But a considerable portion of each pamphlet was devoted to town life, a very important point to lure farmers and settlers. John Bennett, in his book *Northern Plainsmen*, a study of a ranching and farming region on the U.S.-Canadian border, concluded that serious ranchers had only infrequent need for town life. But farmers consider town life and its incumbent social institutions as important as any other facet of agricultural life.[29] Civil institutions, brick homes, successful businesses and business opportunities were stressed to show that an area was already successful and prospective settlers can join this bandwagon. One 1910 pamphlet characterized its citizens as "people of push, of confidence, of industry, of frugal habits and energy . . ." while another used a New York Chamber of Commerce report to underscore Texas' quality of life saying, "her people are above average in education and culture."[30] By focusing on the social and cultural developments in the "garden" of Texas, the literature attempted to illustrate that Texas was the fulfillment of the American Dream.

Blacks were definitely excluded. Norman Kittrell, former president of the Texas Bar Association, judge and former legislator, put it bluntly, "Don't come to Texas if you want to mingle with the Negro because 'it's a white man's country'."[31] Nor was Kittrell alone. E.C. Green, in extolling the virtues of truck farming in Jacksonville County, said:

> Another feature in the lists of advantages which deserves comment is the absence of the negro. The nature of the industry requires a higher grade intelligence than cotton and corn farming negro is capable of using, and he has "moved on" and out of the country as the fruit and truck growers have come in.[32]

Allen Maull, who wrote a number of pamphlets before World War I, implied that Black tenant farming practices on plantations was responsible for low production, soil destruction and low land value:

> It is practically impossible for the owner to handle over 80 to 200 acres of hired labor and the rest of his farm must be rented to tenants, for the negro much prefers to be his own master and farm in his own way than to be under the control and management of the owner of the farm. The negro farmer is used to only *one system of farming*, a system that permits him to do as little work as possible.[33]

However, Maull did not think the Blacks were always too "uppity":

> Some of you may now think that the negro is an objectionable feature of Central Texas, but you are mistaken—come and see. The people here have less trouble with them than do the people of the north.[34]

Mexicans were largely ignored, except for the tourist value of the Texas mission heritage and old Mexico.

This period contains the same omissions as earlier periods. The brochures did not mention farm organizations or freight rates, and tenancy is only cited as one reason for the decline of large land holdings. More importantly, the farm literature of the period seldom refers to the railroads.[35] The Texas Farmers Congress frequently passed resolutions thanking the railroads for reduced rates or free passes to members in attendance from 1900 to 1915. However, in 1911 the Congress passed a very mildly worded resolution to lower freight rates.

Two features which characterized this middle period was the use of experts and the mention of race. The trend towards verifiable, factual information continued into the third period. The emphasis on race did not. Although considerable anti-Black sentiment continued past the 1920s, there was no anti-Black sentiment in the promotional pamphlets of that period. Possibly the writers thought race outside the scope of their writing. There was no myth involved about race for would-be settlers coming to Texas in the first fifteen years of this century. Blatant racism was definitely a part of Texas society then and it is well reflected in the promotional literature.

The third period of Southern Pacific promotional pamphlets is 1920 to 1930. There is a substantial decrease in the number of pamphlets issued during these years. This could be due to the disposal of saleable lands, and to the rise of the Chamber of Commerce and other competing promotional activities.[36] During this decade all pamphlets were issued exclusively under the corporate sponsorship of the Southern Pacific rather than its affiliate lines. Here, as in the second time period, the pamphlets can be divided into groups, the subject of area, crops or travel. During this period the area pamphlets describe West and South Texas, where development was most active, and the crop pamphlets center on the produce of these areas. Also during the 1920s the Southern Pacific acquired the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad, and the Southern Pacific was finally allowed to complete a line from Falfurrias to Brownsville which opened the lower Rio Grande Valley to their business.[37]

The pamphlets from this period are, for the most part, an extension of trends that characterized the years 1900-1915: they have the highest degree of objectivity, the lowest amount of exaggeration, and, in keeping with publishing advances, are the most illustrated. Many have a format similar to the *Farmers Bulletins* of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Cash crops, yields per acre, cultivation methods, soil type, climate and valuation of buildings and improvements are listed.

There is no comparison of weather with the northern climates nor an appeal to northern farmers. Pamphlet writers still felt the need to reassure the reader of their honesty, but they did so less often. As late as 1931 the *Magic Valley of the Lower Rio Grande* said:

> The Southern Pacific is interested *only* in furnishing accurate and unbiased information concerning the natural advantages to be found in territories served by this great rail system—it does not own or offer for sale *any* land or properties, but functions only as a source of information and service for the public.[38]

The use of knowledgeable pamphleteers continued. *Agricultural Achievements and Possibilities Along the Southern Pacific Lines in Texas* (1923) was written by William Bizzell, the President of Texas A and M College. Bizzell included such mundane but useful information as annual temperature and precipitation by weather station, marketing, including cooperatives, average expenditures for feed and fertilizer and a passage on tenancy.

The discussion on towns emphasized a middle class life style more than ever before:

> A man naturally considers investment and financial possibilities above other things. A woman reckons upon the basis of a proper environment for the raising of her children, the servant problem and the chance for a measure of congenial church, civic, and social affiliation, either rural or community.[39]

Civic pride, highways, good living and business development were stressed. With thousands of successful merchants, bankers, farmers, oil magnates, doctors, lawyers, musicians and other professional people coming at "the land man's expense . . . the result is that the average of citizenship in the valley is said to be the highest type of any equal area and population in the country."[40] There was also a concern for quality in farmers, too. In a paragraph titled "Shall we keep them on the farm," the pamphlet *A Brief History of Texas* (1925) said "a high type, prosperous agriculture of tomorrow demands that not all boys be kept on the farm but that the best of them be kept there."[41] This was a continuation of an idea first implied in the pamphlets of 1900-1915 that not every farmer would be successful and that only "quality" people were wanted. It reflected the idea of a ladder of civilization, an idea which said that increased technology, social institutions and financial success were all proof of a higher and better stage of civilization. It was an idea readily acceptable to a people only a generation away from the frontier.

Blacks are not mentioned in the text and are only shown as field hands. Mexicans however have their station in this society. "The Mexican laborer, the most skillful of humans in the mere use of his hands, is undoubtedly the choice of races for cotton mill service."[42]

The style and content of the Southern Pacific promotional literature changed from 1880 to 1930. It contained a shift from broad, exaggerated statements to a more realistic and detailed approach. Along the way the pamphlets attempted to mirror the hopes of their audiences; Texas was a garden, an Empire in wealth and opportunity. As Americans and as Texans they were destined to succeed and honest effort was the only requirement. Over the years the pamphlets mirrored the attitudes of would-be settlers toward their ideals; unbridaled optimism, boosterism, racism and a disinterest in rural problems. The years also reflect the reassessment of those ideals and gave them some measure of quantification. The rise in the number and influence of the Chambers of Commerce, the depression, the lack of suitable areas for large scale settlement, the automobile, and the public's increased sophistication in understanding advertising caused the decline in railroad promotional literature.

In emphasizing more factual detail in agriculture and geography the pamphlets lost sight of their Texas heritage. Myth is a notion based more on tradition or convenience than on fact, and as the pamphlets necessarily moved towards reality, the myth promised less and less. The pamphlets presented actualities that the hopeful reader was forced to decide for himself. It is probably impossible to judge the drawing power of these myths; however, one can be certain as myth gave way to reality, that the idea of settling in Texas became more practical and less entertaining.

NOTES

[1]Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway Co., *What You Want and Where to Find It On the Sunset Route* (Houston: n.p., n.d.) back cover. Over eighty pamphlets were examined in this study and they are found at the Barker Texas History Center, the Mirabeau B. Lamar Library at the University of Texas in Austin, and at the Texas State Archives in Austin.

[2]Most railroads believed settlement on lands paralleling their lines was more important than land sales because of the prospect of long term profits, William S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant* (Stanford, 1954),

155-156. This study is not concerned with the amount of land received in grant. For a general discussion of that topic, see Aldon Socrates Lang, *Financial History of the Public Lands in Texas*, the Baylor Bulletin, vol. xxxv (Waco, 1932), 103-105, Reuben McKitrick, *The Public Land System of Texas, 1823-1910*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Economics and Political Science Series, vol. ix (Madison, 1918), 67-69, and Thomas L. Miller, *The Public Lands of Texas, 1519-1970)* (Norman, 1971), 98-101. A more specific total can be gained from the *Abstract to All Original Texas Land Titles* (Austin, 1941).

[3]The Southern Pacific consists of what was once forty different railroads. For a history of that consolidation see St. Clair Griffen Reed, *A History of the Texas Railroads* (Houston, 1941), 191-282, or Neill C. Wilson and Frank J. Taylor, *Southern Pacific* (New York, 1952).

[4]Milicent Huff, "A Study of the Work Done by Texas Railroad Companies to Encourage Immigration into Texas 1870 to 1890" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1955).

[5]*West Texas Beyond the Pecos* and *Tourists Points and Resorts on the Sunset Route* also have identical content.

[6]Paul W. Gates, *The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, 1934), 175. See also David M. Emmons, *The Garden in the Grasslands* (Lincoln, 1971), 28.

[7]Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway Co., *A Description of Western Texas* (Galveston, 1876), 11. Another vivid description is found in an 1882 pamphlet, "after the war, things were in a lamentable condition. Outlaws and murders infested the highroads, robbed remote hamlets, and enacted jail deliveries; there were a thousand murders per year within the state limits; but at the end of the two years the reconstruction government had got well at work and annihilated the murders and robbers . . . . Of course, innocent people were plundered and killed, but then, as now, most of the men who 'died with their boots on' were professional scoundrels of whom the world was well rid." Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Star and Crescent and Sunset Route* (New York, 1882), 22.

[8]Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire* (New Orleans, 1912), 3.

[9]*Chicago Tribune*, March 6, 1887. Quoted in Gates, *Illinois Central*, 177.

[10]Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railway Co., *Immigrant's Guide to West Texas* (n.p.: 1876), 38.

[11]The Tenancy rate in Texas in 1880 was 39.5 percent compared to the 25.6 national average. By 1920 the national average rose to 38.1 percent but the Texas rate climbed to 55 percent. William Bizzell, *Rural Texas* (New York, 1924), 387.

[12]Among the farmers organizations founded around the turn of the century are included in the Texas Farmers Congress (1897) and the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America (1902). Neither was aimed directly against the railroads. In fact at least one year (1903) the Southern Pacific bought and distributed copies of the Congress Proceedings. The Farm-Labor Union, a third organization listed its four causes as: 1. high taxes on farm land; 2. the one crop system; 3. farm tenancy; 4. poor rural credit conditions. It did not list the railroads. For a description of the farm movements in Texas, see Robert L. Hunt, *Farmers Movements in the Southwest 1873-1925* (College Station, Tex, 1935).

[13]Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway Co., *Sugar Lands in Texas* (Houston: 1909), 5, and Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio, *What You Want and Where to Find It on the Sunset Route*, 9.

[14]Southern Pacific, *Southwest Texas*, 2.

[15]Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *East Southeast Texas on the Texas and New Orleans Railroad* (Houston, 1910), 5.

[16]H.S. Kneedler, *The Coast Country of Texas* (Cincinnati, 1896), 76.

[17]Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Facts and Figures for Farmers, Fruit Growers, and Florists* (Houston, 1909), 5.

[18]Southern Pacific, *Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire*, 27.

[19]The Federal Government in one case, actually recruited Iowa farmers "versed in good farming" to come to Louisiana and upgrade agriculture there. See A. Hunter DuPree, *Science in the Federal Government* (Cambridge, 1957), 181.

[20]Texas Farmers Congress, *Proceedings of the Third Annual Session* (College Station, Tex., 1900), 230-231.

[21]Southern Pacific, *East Southeast Texas*, 58.

[22]*Southwestern Immigration and Real Estate Review, February*, 1904, 4.

[23]Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway Co., *Southwest Texas* (Houston: Cumming and Son, 1908), 1.

[24]Southern Pacific, *Texas Coast Country*, 2.

[25]E.W. Kirkpatrick, C.L. Onderdonk, H.A. Attwater, William Bizzell and Allen Maull are among the list of authorities cited at least three times.

[26]Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Dry Farming in West Texas* (Houston: Cumming and Son, 1909), 9.

[27]For further information on the Dry Farming Controversy see Mary V. Hargreaves, *Dry Farming on the Northern Great Plains* (Cambridge, 1957).

[28]Southern Pacific *Railroad Co., East Southeast Texas* (Houston, 1910), 2.

[29]John Bennett, *Northern Plainsmen* (Chicago, 1969), 201-211.

[30]Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *East Southwest Texas on The Texas and New Orleans Railroad* (Houston, 1910), 12, and Southern Pacific, *Texas Coast Country*, 15.

[31]Norman G. Kittrell, *Texas Illustrated: or the Romance the History and Resources of a Great State* (Houston, 1911), 36.

[32]Southern Pacific, *East Southeast Texas*, 16-19.

[33]Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Central Texas Is Calling You, Mr. Farmer* (Houston, 1912), 5.

[34]*Ibid.*, 5.

[35]*Farm and Ranch, Southwestern Stockman and Farmer*, and *Texas Stockman and Farmer* were searched using 1889, 1894, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1909, 1915, 1921 and 1926 as representative years. Only in the 1891 *Farm and Ranch* which had some early Texas railroad histories, were there found anything beyond the call for more.

[36]Some Chamber of Commerce and promotional organizations that are very prominent in this decade are from Houston, San Antonio, South Plains and Lower Rio Grande Valley.

[37]Jacob L. Stambaugh, *The Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* (San Antonio, 1954), 169-170, 178-180.

[38]Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *The Magic Valley of the Lower Rio Grande* (Houston: Southern Pacific Lines, 1931), inside front cover.

[39]Julia Cameron Montgomery, *A Little Journey Through the Lower Valley of the Rio Grande* (Houston, 1928), 5.

[40]*Ibid.*, 8.

[41]Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *A Brief History of Texas* (Houston: Southern Pacific Lines, 1925), 6. Despite the name the major emphasis is to promote Brewster County, Texas.

[42]Montgomery, *Journey Through the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, 49.

MEMORIES OF OLD CHITA SCHOOL

by Ruth D. Morris

Miss Gertrude Davis, that kindly spinster who had guided all the Dunaway children (Verna, Hubert, Vera, and Lloyd) through the 3R's, spoke to my mother on the front porch of our farm house in the community of Sebastopol, Texas. As she glanced at me she said, "Hattie, it's a shame to leave this one behind since her sister, who is just thirteen months older, will be starting to primer this fall. She'll be lonesome at home, so why don't you send her along with Frances?" Mama nodded in agreement and thus the plans were laid for my entry in Chita School.

Chita School was located about a mile off the main road, down a winding path that opened up on a white sandy hill deep in the heart of East Texas. It was a simple, white frame structure trimmed with green shutters. It contained three classrooms and a large gymnasium and/or auditorium. Bleachers lined one side of the gym, a stage was in the rear, and there was a basketball court in the center.

The Christmas before (1936) my brother, Lloyd, had taken Frances and me to visit the school. My eyes nearly bugged out when I saw Santa Claus and his reindeer mounted upon a huge sand table in the classroom that housed the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd grades. What a lovely sight! School was going to be fun. I could hardly wait.

Toward the end of August, Mama and Daddy hitched the horses to the wagon, loaded us in, and off we went to the town of Trinity, seven miles from our home. We had had a good crop of cotton that year. After paying off the $150.00 loan—borrowed to purchase seed and farm supplies—to Mr. Cauthern at the bank, a few dollars would remain; these precious dollars would be used to purchase school supplies, buy a few goodies, and get each of us something for the beginning of school, something unusual in our experience: a store-bought outfit. Daddy lit a big cigar which always tipped me off to expect an exciting time because he only smoked them on special occasions. We were warned to sit still with our backs straight up against the sides of the wagon: for once, when Lloyd had been much younger, one of the older kids had dropped him, and he barely escaped being crushed under the wheels. We rode for what seemed like an eternity, the wagon wheels turning slowly over the gravel road. Mama and Daddy sat on the wagon seat up front and talked over the successes and failures involved in farming and evaluated the crops of friends and neighbors as we passed each little farm. At last we saw in the distance smoke rising from the basket factory. Also, we could see the top of the huge water tower. We were almost there!

Once the horses were tied, Daddy disappeared; it was not the custom for husband and wife to hang around together in town. So off Mama went with us three kids tagging along—our eyes taking in the sights.

Our first stop was Mize's Ready to Wear. Since the winters were cold, we had to have a good sturdy pair of oxfords, and Mama decided Frances and I would be warmer in "union suits" and overalls. Lloyd got the same, plus a little brown felt hat with a feather that waved gracefully from the left side. When we finished there, we proceeded toward Mr. Bell's grocery store. Mr. Bell saw us coming and stepped out to the sidewalk to say "howdy." He looked down at us two chubby little girls and asked what made us so fat. We were used to this question and had been instructed by our Daddy to say, "Peas and Cornbread."

Ruth D. Morris now lives in Huntington Beach, California.

They had a good hearty laugh and offered to weigh us on their new cotton scales. We obliged. I don't remember how much we weighed, but, from all the laughing and exclaiming, it must have been a goodly amount. We said good-day to him, took Mama's hand, and walked on. As we neared Scarborough's Cafe, the aroma coming through their screen door set our mouths to watering; we begged Mama to take us inside. She took us in and seated us at the counter. We sure got a kick out of those bar stools—but not for long. Mama grabbed us by the arm, gave us a fierce pinch, made a terrible face at us which made us understand that twirling around and around wasn't the thing to do. Mama knew the waitress, Adele, and talked over old times with her while we enjoyed, for the first time, that great treat of the Western World, a genuine fifteen cent hamburger.

Daddy was busy talking with the men folk and had treated himself to a "chili" on the other side of town.

Mama had the keenest sense of what made kids happy, so, after we had finished our hamburger, our next stop was Cochran's Drug for a big vanilla ice cream cone.

At Perry Bros. Five and Dime we purchased our school supplies. We bought Big Chief tablets and the most marvelous pencil boxes which contained pencils, erasers, and a ruler.

At last Daddy joined us at Brookshire's Grocery where we bought some hog feed, paid for with money from a new loan from the bank. Mama was careful to match the pretty printed sacks; they would be used to make school dresses for spring.

Our day's shopping was over. We climbed back into the wagon for the long trip home. We laid down, dozed off and on, savoring the experiences of our day. Now and then we would count the buzzards soaring in the distant clouds high above us: one for sorrow, two for joy, etc. Finally, as we were almost home, we roused up and waved as we passed the Thompson Place to let them know we had been to town.

September came. Lloyd awoke bright and early. He came running into our bedroom shouting "Its the first day of school!" We laughed and romped on the feather bed and thought how nice it was that we would not be going to the field to "scrap the cotton."

We dressed in our new underwear, and Mama instructed us on how to lower the "trap door" when we needed to "be excused." We then pulled on the overalls and combed our hair. From the kitchen we heard Daddy call, "Breakfast, bring two chairs!" We had a long, rectangular, homemade table. On two sides were benches to hold the kids. The two chairs were for Mama and Daddy to sit at the ends. Mama had prepared her usual hearty breakfast for working men and growing kids. There were two or three pans of fluffy, brown biscuits, a platter full of bacon and eggs, syrup, butter, and plenty of fresh milk.

Off we went down the lane to the main road. We walked about three quarters of a mile to Mr. Jim Lawrence's store, located at the forks of the road. One road led to Carlisle and the other to Chita. We waited there for the school bus to come up from Carlisle to pick us up and take us on to Chita.

Some of the kids from Carlisle were rather rowdy. There was even a bully or two in the crowd. Grace Clark I remember in particular. But then, there were others who were sweet and kind. Willie Hayne Whitehead, who always wore an aviator's cap to keep his ears warm, was one of these. Carlisle was a bigger community than Sebastopol, so the best seats were taken on the bus when it stopped to pick us up.

Right away we found out Lloyd's new hat was a mistake. I was appalled when I saw the big boys sailing Lloyd's little hat, with the feather in the side, back and forth over his head with him half-laughing, half-crying, and trying desperately to retrieve it.

I don't know how, with all the laughing, shouting, and carrying on, but Alonzo, the bus driver, managed to keep his mind on his business and finally turned off the main road and headed toward the school house.

The primer class was seated at a long, low table at the front of the room. The second and third grades were seated at desks, lined up in rows, straight as an arrow, and screwed securely to the wooden floor. A big pot-bellied, wood-burning stove was to the right of the room. It proved to be a very essential item for the northers blew in early that fall.

Miss Gertrude was a tall, skinny lady with short, wavy, brown hair. She smiled a lot and showed the wide spaces between her teeth. She wore rimless, square cut glasses. Everyone said she really knew how to deal with kids. She had her hands full that day with little Royal Loftin and me. Royal was young too, not quite five. He was extremely shy, and, as we began our lessons, he became more and more uneasy and cried for his Mama. He rubbed his sleeve across his snotty nose as he coughed and blubbered and snubbed so pitifully. Finally Miss Gertrude told Reba, his older sister, to take him home. He got to wait another whole year before starting to school. I was so caught up with my new surroundings and newly made friends that it was difficult for me to keep my mind on the lesson being presented. I was having a joyful time communicating with Bobbie Bowman, when, all of a sudden, Miss Gertrude took a ruler from her desk and cracked each of us a good lick on the calves of our legs. She got our attention all right, but I was never so humiliated in all my life. All morning long, Miss Gertrude kept speaking to Lloyd, who was seated in the third grade row. "Lloyd, see if you can make her stop crying, or I'm going to send her home." It must have worked because I got to stay in school.

What I really dreaded was telling Mama that I'd gotten a whipping. (For to me, one lick with a ruler from the teacher constituted a whipping.) If there was one lesson I should have learned at home it was, "Don't be any trouble to anybody," and "Speak when you are spoken to." Well, I chose to remain silent and keep my fingers crossed that the other kids wouldn't tell on me. But that was just too much to hope for. That evening, as we all sat around the supper table, Hubert had to come out with it. I don't know what sort of terrible punishment I expected from my parents, but, by the time my brothers and sisters had finished teasing me, I guess Mama and Daddy thought I'd had enough. They looked at me with that "I didn't think you'd do it" look and said I'd have to learn to behave in school.

Later in the year, Miss Gertrude thought it would be a good thing for us to learn where the farmer's products went. So she loaded all six or seven of the kids who made up the primer class into her old plymouth sedan, and off we drove in the direction of Trinity. We went straight to Brookshire's Grocery Store where we wandered through the isles and surveyed the canned goods, meat department, milk products, and then over to the produce department. Innocently, I asked why they had all those weeds for sale. Miss Gertrude bent down and whispered to me that those were carrot tops. I felt kinda dumb making such a blunder, but, since my parents did not grow carrots in our garden, I had never seen them before. We enjoyed our learning experience that day and not until much later did I realize the full meaning of our field trip.

Back at school our studies continued. We studied things like Roman Numerals which were so hard for me to grasp. We learned how to make change

with a big cup of coins the teacher provided. Once we even ground up some peanuts and made our own peanut butter.

The season changed and winter fell. I was prone to tonsillitis, and invariably I came down with an awful earache preceeding an attack. Miss Gertrude would take some warm ashes from the potbellied stove, wrap them in a clean cloth and have me place the ashes next to my ear. That was a neat trick for it always eased the pain until I could get home. She was such a wise teacher, I thought. Someday I hoped I'd be a little like her.

Christmastime at school was very outstanding. Some men of the community cut a huge, green cedar tree and brought it into the gym to be decorated. Some ladies came and spent the morning putting on beautiful, bright ornaments and shiny tinsel. When they finished it was a sight to behold. We drew names in our classes for a gift exchange. Everyone was sure to get a present. The last day before Christmas vacation we gathered in the gym. The mood was light and festive. Everyone was happy, laughing, and talking. We sang a few carols. Then all of a sudden Santa Claus came bursting through the back door. He laughed and bounced around and made like he was brushing snow off his suit. Said he's just come from the North Pole. He got right to work and started pulling presents off the tree. He called my name, and I raced eagerly, smiling from ear to ear, to the front to claim my present. I got a pretty little china doll. I called it my Martha Washington doll. The person who had drawn my name couldn't have pleased me more. I gave it a special place on my dresser and cherished it for years to come. And that wasn't all—my name was called a second time. There in a small package, marked simply "from Santa," was a set of jacks. How very special I felt to be a part of this memorable day.

Spring came eventually. We had a hard time keeping our minds on our studies. At recess we sometimes wandered through the woods looking for violets. Taking in the glory of God's handiwork—careful not to turn over a log and arouse a sleeping snake. The air was clean. The sunlight shining down through the branches of the huge oaks and pines warmed our souls. Some of the older kids became a little restless. I heard rumors about their plans to play hooky on April Fool's Day—something about climbing the great, tall, fire tower out in back of the school. They were quite sure no teacher would risk climbing up to retrieve them. I don't know if this ever took place, but I feared for them should they be found out.

Time passed quickly at Chita School, and I was promoted to second grade. Miss Gertrude Davis wouldn't be back next year. We were to be taught by Miss Ailene Prentiss. She was a bitter dose for me, and I was constantly in trouble with her. For one thing, we were instructed to raise our hand when we needed to be excused. The toilets were located some distance behind the school. Some of the kids had been excused from the room and had stayed away for quite some time exploring nature on the way. Indeed, I had been guilty of this on previous occasions. There were butterflies, grasshoppers, bessie bugs, and a huge red ant hill along the sandy path, bordered by big, tall, long-leafed pines, which led to the toilets. It was fun to be excused. But one day I raised my hand, and it wasn't a false alarm. I really did need to "be excused." Miss Prentiss ignored my signal. I knew what she was thinking. I wasn't kidding. The third grade was reciting at the front of the room. I waited what seemed like the absolute limit. Then I tried again, this time waving a little more desperately than the first. She spied my hand and shook her head "No." What was I going to do? I hated myself for losing her trust. I sat there in my seat writing and re-writing my ABC's wondering if I could hold out until the bell rang. Finally, I decided I must make her understand how deadly earnest I was, so I stood up and walked almost cross-legged to the front of the room and stood before her desk. Just as I was about to implore her to let me

go, I felt something warm and wet trinkel down my legs. The time had come! This was it! Right there, before the whole room, I wet my pants. A great hush fell over the class as they all stared at me. I was ruined forever. For the remainder of the day Miss Prentiss was nice to me. She apologized over and over again but nothing could take away the shame I felt.

All through the school year, I sensed her extreme dislike for me. She seemed to favor my pretty, fair-haired sister, Frances, and gave her such prestigous jobs as adjusting the window shades and dusting the erasers. Once Miss Prentiss drew a dog house on the blackboard and selected certain individuals to take down names of the ones who talked while she was busy with the other grades. If a student's name was placed in the doghouse three times, he would get a whipping in front of the class. Being young and having a short attention span, I guess I must have forgotten and whispered to my neighbor. My sister took my name once, my cousin, Dorothy, took it twice. This sealed my fate. The whippings took place right before going home in the afternoon, so I had all day to dread it. There were three of us to be used as an example that day. Thurmon Thompson was a big, tall, gangly kid. His interest in learning was not too keen. He usually came to school in the fall and winter only; his Daddy would take him out in the spring to plow the fields and plant the crops. He was the first one to get his whipping, and he smiled all through it. Being so big and hardened to this type of punishment, I am sure he didn't feel the licks. Next to be summoned was Berneice, Thurmon's younger sister. She had been contemplating her sentence and had wrapped herself securely in her big, heavy coat. It didn't work. She was ordered to remove her coat and leave it at her desk. At last my time came. Since I had on overalls, I thought it wouldn't be too bad. My pants legs would cushion the blows. But that's where I was wrong. Miss Prentiss reached down and took hold of my pants legs, pulled them as tight as a G-string and really let me have it! The hurt I felt on my legs combined with that of my pride was very debasing. If she was trying to "break my spirit," she almost succeeded. I felt about as big as a worm!

When Miss Gertrude returned my 3rd year at Chita, she brought with her a new name. The manager of the produce department at Brookshire's Grocery was now her husband.

It soon became apparent I needed some help with my reading. I was stumped on "Brer Rabbit" and "The Tar Baby" stories. When I was called on to read before the class I stammered and faltered. I became very embarrassed when the other kids would prompt me. Miss Gertrude (as we continued to call her) asked the class how many thought I should be sent back to the second grade row. Everyone raised their hand except my sister, Frances. For this humiliating vote of confidence I really let loose with racking sobs. I pleaded with her to let me stay and promised to put forth great effort to improve my reading. I kept my promise. With my mother's loving and patient help after supper every night I finally caught up with my fellow classmates.

While classes were going on one spring day, we heard a terrible commotion coming from the gym. When the teachers went to investigate, they discovered someone had left a rear door open and some friendly pigs had followed the scents which led them to the cupboard where the whole school stored their lunches. All the newspapers that held our lunches of cold biscuits with scrambled eggs, or biscuits with mashed beans and onions, were scattered all over the gym. As the pigs were herded out the back door, our teachers sized up the damage and came back to report to us. There would be no lunches that day. I remember Mr. Key, the principal, offering some of us younger ones his lunch. He had sandwiches made of white light bread and lunch meat, potato chips, cookies, and an orange.

That was the first time I became aware that there was something other than biscuits with eggs, or beans, and sometimes chocolate tarts, for lunches. Of course, we had fruit trees on our farm. We raised peaches, pears, and plums, but they were mainly for the purpose of preserving and canning. Apples and oranges appeared at our house only at Christmastime. So even though I was deathly afraid of Mr. Key, I thought he was most generous in sharing his lunch with us.

Now I will tell you the reason I was afraid of Mr. Key. One day Leonard Parker forgot to say "sir" to him. He took Leonard in his room at noon, and, using a rung from an old chair, beat him over and over again. The whole school was horrified, and I remember some of the bigger boys ganged up to one side. They were talking about bursting in the room to rescue Leonard. But being half scared they too would be the recipient of Mr. Key's wrath, they waited too long. He was finished. Leonard was black and blue. Later we heard that Mr. Parker had reported our principal to the school board. I do not recall the outcome of this report, but I think we had a new principal the next year.

I felt very grown-up when I moved across the hall to the fourth grade. All during the year there were rumors about Groveton Independent School District consolidating the small schools in the area. We had several distinguished visitors from town. They would come into our room, look around, talk in low voices with our teacher, and disappear as mysteriously as they had come.

Finally at the end of 4th grade we got the news. All the students from Chita would be bussed sixteen miles to Groveton. Our beautiful, little, country school set back among the tall pines and all of nature's glory would be no more. We all skipped a grade because a 12th grade was being added to the curriculum.

So it was with a tender feeling of sadness, mixed with joyful anticipation, that I bade farewell to all my loving memories of Chita School and entered the 6th grade and a new world at the age of nine-years-old. It was the end of the wood-burning stove in the classroom, Christmastime in the gym, and picnic lunches on warm days in the woods. It was the end of leisurely walks to the rest room and of field trips into town in the teacher's car. It was the end of a world I used to know. Some called it progress. Perhaps it was. But, now and then, when I'm in a nostalgic mood, I'm not so sure.

Editor's Note: Although from a relatively recent time, these reminiscences capture the humor and pathos of rural education in East Texas.

THE "NEW" SOCIAL HISTORY AND THE SOUTHWEST: THE DALLAS SOCIAL HISTORY PROJECT

by Harvey D. Graff

It does not take long for a newcomer to Southwestern history to discover that this region, with all its glorious legends and dramatic events, truly lacks a systematically recorded past. The Southwest abounds with the fruits of a long tradition of solid historiography and lodes of literateurs' lore. However, when the researcher looks below the level of colorful portrayals of personalities and battles and the saga of frontier settlement, he or she finds the basic ingredients of history as yet untouched. This is principally the case in social and economic history—and especially that of the modern style. The bare bones of social development, population profiles, and social differentiation and their interaction with a developing economy have simply not received the dry but grounded attention of the historian or social scientist. This failing is especially glaring when we turn to questions which now dominate modern historical inquiry: the structures and configurations of past society, be they social, demographic, familial, or economic. Certainly urban history remains largely in the same relatively unstudied position.

The student of local history may be thinking that this assessment is unfair. However, aside from long out-of-date town and county histories and some worthy amateur efforts, the only published professional work in the urban history of Texas is Wheeler's *To Wear a City's Crown: The Beginnings of Urban Growth in Texas, 1836-1865*.[1] Regardless of the interpretation advanced, the book suffers from important limitations. It does not describe or analyze urban development in much of the state, and the developments it does focus upon are treated informally and anecdoctally. The analysis owes little to conceptualizations of urbanization, and it lacks both comparisons and indicators of change and development. Specifically, it owes little to the important and growing literature in the "new" urban history; the book hardly reveals the dominant research tendencies of the last decade.[2]

Other recent studies in Texas history seem more centrally related to the "new" social history.[3] They attempt to draw upon more modern research strategies, adopting the systemic, quantified approach and drawing upon routinely-generated records such as the Federal Census Population Schedules which are available from 1850-1880. Nevertheless, each study lacks much attention to explicit conceptualization, comprehension of the social processes which underlie the patterns isolated, or much social theoretical awareness. They are preliminary and beginning studies, not final products of a new historical method or approach.

It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in published studies at least, the social history of Texas lies fallow. It seems barely touched by a dozen years of work and example in the "new" social and urban histories, untouched by the many and diverse sources for stimulation, challenge, or encouragement—American, English, or French. Exceptions are rare. The handful of studies referred to here surely do not form an inclusive listing, but they are sufficient to establish the point: the social past of the region awaits modern, systematic, and social-scientific examination.

Harvey D. Graff is Assistant Professor of History, Education, and Social Science at the University of Texas, Dallas, and Director at the Dallas Social History Project.

In recent years, much attention and a burgeoning literature, too large to cite here, has been devoted to "new trends in history," the relationships between history and the social sciences, and the validity of quantification.[4] For well over two decades debates have raged between the "humanistic" or "traditionalist" school of historians and the "social scientific" wing of the profession, although it now seems that much of the squabbling has turned into a more fruitful awareness of mutual limitations and strengths and a growing movement toward a more productive methodological pluralism.

Especially important in the newer forms of historical research are methods, sources, and techniques. However, the primary advancement relates not only to these matters but perhaps more centrally to explicit conceptualization and an approach to analysis which is systematically and comparatively oriented. As a strategy the "new" history often involves a basis in quantification, to achieve a greater breadth of generalization and problem solution and a social scientific perspective. More rigorous and explicit formulations of problems and research design, the search for different sources of information, and greater precision in both formulation of questions and of answers are demanded. Quantification underlies much of this research, with its reliance upon the value of standard and comparable data over a valid chronological span and with its close relationship to social theoretical concerns. The use of historical data which is routinely-generated, or reproduced at regular intervals, is equally critical. Of course researchers must be equally aware of the limitations of this approach and must recognize which problems and questions are amenable to numerical solutions and which are not. In terms of urban and social history, the new directions encourage the formal identification of relevant factors, their measurement, and the examination of impact and interaction. In these directions, great progress has been made in recent historical scholarship.[5]

The "new" urban and social histories are now maturing, but as suggested earlier, Texas and Southwestern history have barely been influenced. Very few studies extend west of the Mississippi or east of California. Recent and current work, however, have provided useful guidelines to problems and approaches as well as to difficulties and obstacles.[6] The Dallas Social History Project, as introduced here, seeks to apply the approach, indeed advance upon it, to the past of Dallas. The Project will attempt to combine the most fruitful of techniques from traditional and more recent historical methods, through a large-scale collaborative orientation to historical inquiry.[7] A wide variety of topics and questions, as suggested below, establish the boundaries for the investigation; importantly, they are among the most prominent in the "new" social and urban history, ranging from family and childhood to social structure and elite analysis.

In comparison with older forms of urban and social history, the approach adopted here centers upon analysis rather than description or narration, theories of change and development (in this case, urbanization), and whole societies as far as the extant sources allow. More importantly, the city is conceptualized as a social system in which the interaction of dynamic processes and the diversity of peoples took place. Linear metaphors of growth, concentration on the articulate and visible citizens and notions about uniqueness of one place are eschewed. Most helpful to the student in these regards are the books and papers of Eric E. Lampard, Stephan Thernstrom, and Samuel P. Hays, who illustrate new paradigmatic approaches to urban social studies in the past.[8] Together, they stress the importance of the demographic, ecological, and spatial dimensions in understanding social development. They discuss the often separately studied groups and components of the city in their changing interrelations and in terms of systematic and systemic conceptions. The city is seen in terms of a variety of

processes and structures in flux, whose overall relationships constitute the social entity we identify. Of course, the forms of interaction are not universal, but they are dependent upon the composition of the population, the historical circumstances, migration, locational factors, economic variables, distribution of power, external relations, and often chance factors. Each of these elements constitutes a system in its own right, while the city may be either more or less than the sum of the units. Comparatively, the systems and their subsequent development of any one place may be usefully compared to those of other places, urban or rural.

Into this highly abbreviated and schematicized overview comes the Dallas Social History Project; its goals and interests enumerated below. It joins the ranks of an increasing number of urban social history projects, derivative of the "new" histories, focusing on such disparate places as Hamilton, Ontario, Poughkeepsie, New York, Amiens, France, and Philadelphia.[9] It develops directly from recent historical tendencies: quantitatively, conceptually, theoretically, comparatively; however, it hopes, like most adolescents, to transcend its origins. The new social and urban histories have remained in many ways incomplete, although they have had a dramatic impact on the historical profession. They have not succeeded, however, in escaping the limitations of the case study of an individual area or of conceptual failure to systematically and cohesively link the many elements which comprise the systems of cities. Furthering the development of urban history, this Project plans to surmount these limitations through a proper recognition of past weaknesses at its inception. The Dallas Social History Project represents a new generation of historical urban social research with its awareness of comparative and conceptual challenges: toward that end, we week to establish a new framework for historical analysis and the following introduction is offered as our first experimental attempt.

THE DALLAS SOCIAL HISTORY PROJECT: AN INTRODUCTION

The criticisms of the social and urban history of the Southwest and Texas advanced above apply squarely to Dallas' past. Texas' second largest city and the commercial-financial center of the region, Dallas remains historically obscure. Although it has been served well by the amateur historians, there is no apparent justifiable reason or special circumstance which accounts for the lack of professional and scholarly attention. Certainly, there is no lack of primary records or of a dynamic past or the important social processes. Consequently, the history of the city and the county (along with much of the region) lies unstudied and unreconstructed. The story of the city on the Trinity with its blend of races, social classes, mixed economic activities, urban problems and longterm historical significance has been left to anecdotal accounts as substitutes for serious research, for cultural transmission and understanding. Not surprisingly, the result is a blurred sequence of events, and a lack of fundamental knowledge about population change and composition, distribution of wealth and power, geographic transformations, and vital events.

Nevertheless, Dallas' modern form, the culmination of the historical processes of immigration, stratification, differentiation, urbanization, and modernization stretch exposed to view and the critical records remain readily retrievable in local, state, and national repositories. The forces of change, therefore, are accessible for isolation, analysis, and interpretation. The Dallas Social History Project proposes to begin the reconstruction of the city's past, beginning with the nineteenth century, through the systematic exploitation of the routinely-generated records. Simply, we seek to blend historical imagination and sensitivity with the socio-demographic methods of the "new" social

history, thus explicating the structure of Dallas society from its founding in the 1840s, continuing the study through the first several decades of the twentieth century. We will trace the changes in the structural processes of population, society, geography, and economy, and illustrate the path of social change with its local impact.

GOALS OF THE PROJECT

In this as yet formative state, the Dallas Social History Project is guided principally by three goals:

First, *the history of the city of Dallas* obviously represents the most direct, tangible, and popular goal. In the modern form of the traditional "urban biography," this aim is distinct and discrete; the comprehension and interpretation of the early and adolescent years of development and their wide publicization, in scholarly as well as popular formats, are central. It is important, however, that this (especially in light of the following) not be viewed as a limiting, narrow, or demeaning goal; it is still the stuff of history. Moreover, only from a local basis and grounding can a superstructural interpretation of urban society be constructed.

Toward this end, and that of the other goals, too, the Project will collect, systematically record and analyze virtually all available records for the period of study, approximately 1846-1930. The methodological approach will fall first upon records which are regularly available, comparable over time, and amenable to systematic and quantitative analysis as well as machine-processable. These of course are the routinely-generated records: principally, they include:

U.S. Federal Census manuscript schedules, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880
State of Texas Censuses, 1847, 1848*
Tax rolls
Vital statistics registers: birth, death, marriage (availability is somewhat spotty)
Wills
Deeds and other land records
City directories
Business records
Banking records
Surveys, land plats, and maps
Voluntary association membership rolls
Educational records
Newspapers
Jail and court records
Oral histories

The collection, preparation, and interpretation of these sources form the main thrust of the study and will occupy the Project for at least several years. Supplementary records, in addition, such as newspapers (used in ways different than above), diaries, memoirs, letters, private papers, and local lore, as well as oral reminiscences, will be critically examined.

**I am currently searching for the original schedules of these censuses; if any reader is aware of them, I would appreciate that information.*

To list the materials of the "new" urban history, alas, barely hints at the difficulties and complexities involved in their exploitation. Naturally the historian must not only be versed in historical context and historical method, but he or she must also be trained in social scientific research approaches, statistics, and electronic data processing. Yet these are the more simple obstacles to hurdle. These types of data, as all other data, are not simple to interpret; the student must consciously and consistently, with explicit assumptions, interpret the materials which he or she exploits. The vagaries of nineteenth-century handwriting, occupational terminology, age-heaping, changing names of women, wealth and income data all severely complicate this requirement. This result is a challenge, yes—but often a most frustrating one.

Special problems await researchers of these records; they have received a good deal of attention. The first is that of nominal record-linkage, or the joining together of two or more distinct records or bits of data which pertain to the same individual. For example, if one has two lists, one from a census manuscript and, say, a tax lit, both identified by name, the task is to scientifically match them so that the records of the same individual may be combined.[10] To this we might add the data of a city directory, for instance. Several computer systems specialists are at work designing automatic linkage packages and several methods of combining machine-sorting with manual checking are available. Nevertheless, the problem is a severe one, exacerbated by the high rates of population mobility of the nineteenth-century city. This is one obstacle which the Dallas Project must scale.

A second problem is occupational classification. Any one who has even glanced at the page-after-page lists of individual occupations in published census aggregates, let alone the schedules themselves, has been confronted with literally hundreds of occupational names. Obviously, the research cannot deal with such a diversity, but must classify the occupations into groupings based on a conceptualization of social classes, status hierarchies, and horizontal or functional structures. This is no mean feat, as contemporary stratification studies, with all their supplementary data, attest. The historian sometimes has no more than intuition and knowledge of the local economic structure on which to base the classifications. In other cases, records which include wealth, property, income, or servants may be combined in the establishment of hierarchical scales. This is an equally important challenge to the Project.[11]

Attention to these "technical" problems, however, must not detract from the more fundamental goals. This indeed has been detrimental to some researchers in the field. Historical data, we must remember, is always approximate, and the search for precision and exactitude can become debilitating. Technical problems should not intrude unnecessarily upon more interpretive and substantive ones, although some may do so properly. This is a further risk which must be averted, and which a stress on the larger conceptual framework should avoid.

A third problem awaits the attempt to conduct a systematic oral history of cohorts of older Dallas residents. Their contribution to such a study should be obvious, but the task of research design and conduct of the exercise is virtually unprecedented in North American studies. As well, the relationship of this evidence to other materials is equally severe.

Other problems require attention as well. For example, the 1850 and 1860 censuses did not ask the relationship of household residents to the head of household. This crucial data for family and kinship analysis must then either be inferred or derived from estimates weighed from the 1870 and 1880 schedules, as Hershberg's Philadelphia Project is now attempting. Incomplete lists complicate

matters especially when combined with the mobility phenomenon; finally, the paucity of vital statistics records reduces the possibilities for sophisticated and systematic demographic calculations and for kinship analysis.

Nevertheless, in the face of the large amounts of data extant and the many important questions awaiting attention these problems are less than paralytic. Rather, they are frustrating and irritating, but they are susceptible to imaginative solution and hard work.

In terms of this first goal, a final effort will be addressed to the involvement of local groups and individuals and the generation of local interest. This is both self-serving and community-serving. The latter aim is obvious, while the former rests on the need for people to search through attics, desk drawers, records, and photo albums as well as through their memories. Each town in Dallas County has a local historical society and the city has a Historical Society, Historic Preservation League, and a Genealogical and Historic Society. The Dallas Social History Project will form ties of mutual cooperation with as many of these organizations as possible.

Thus the first goal, not a unique or isolated one, lies in the history of Dallas.

Secondly, the Dallas Social History Project aims to become *an urban historical laboratory*. This goal may well be somewhat slower in realization than the former. As it develops, the Project will simultaneously provide an important training function to both students and staff of this and hopefully other area universities—graduates and undergraduates—provide an historical basis or component for contemporary social analyses of the city, and furnish a center for the testing, creation, and operationalization of social historical research methods and techniques. Toward these ends, undergraduate instruction is now related to the Project, graduate student involvement is beginning, and several new graduate programs are in the planning stages which would involve the Project directly. As well, the Project is already cooperating on contemporary social research efforts in order to avoid the perils of a historical social science and to give them a longitudinal and contextual grounding.

Concretely, and without detracting from its purely research and interpretative activities, the Project is seeking to sensitize social scientists to the importance of the historical dimension in their work and should soon be able to provide them with a "unseable past" for this city. Of equal importance is the attempt to introduce other historians and "humanistic" students to the potential contribution of social scientific and quantitative research innovations. In this connection, it is important to note that a numerical or statistical basis need not (and should not in itself) imply a non-humanistic perspective; the emphasis remains on the individual in his or her society and, importantly, the approach includes those historical actors whose presence is lost in traditional research designs.

The laboratory functions will become rather technical at times, involving social scientists, computer programmers, systems analysts, in addition to traditional students of society, past and present. We will of course attempt to find solutions to some of the problems discussed above as well as establish effective coding systems, sampling techniques, and data management procedures. Finally, the systematic approach will be extended to the collection and analysis of photographic sources, newspapers, and other cultural sources. This is only consistent with my emphasis on methodological pluralism and striving toward a perhaps unreachable total history.

The Dallas Social History Project's third large-scale goal is the one perhaps most important to professional scholars; it is the most abstract activity of the effort. This goal relates to *comparative social history and social theory*.

Obviously, the history of no one place rests in a vacuum—conceptual, contextual, or geographic; nor are the complex processes of change, continuity, and development (regardless of their relationship and outcomes) unique to any one place. Thus, the framework of the study is quite explicitly cast in comparative and theoretical terms. With respect to the former, the increasing amount of data and the developing data base being constructed from the work of the several nineteenth century urban social history projects makes comparative research both practical and virtually required. Most of this material, coded and machine-readable, is available to the project, from the Five Cities Project and the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, Ann Arbor. Detailed comparisons of social structure and social change therefore comprise one central concern. It is now or it soon will be possible to systematically analyze Dallas' patterns in the light of those from Hamilton, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Montreal, Philadelphia, Kingston, Poughkeepsie, Montreal, London, Cape Breton and Halifax, Boston, Detroit, Western European cities and towns, a variety of small cities and towns, as well as an increasing number of rural areas. Data also will be gathered from less urban areas of Dallas County for local comparisons. The prospects are as exciting as they are challenging. Not only is the task (though perhaps not with all these places) prodigious, important problems of comparability of data and classification must be confronted. Nevertheless, all this is required if real progress is to be made.

Of equal importance conceptually and analytically are questions of theoretical import, most particularly those related to social process, structural differentiation, and social change. Many notions and constructs exist in the social scientific study of human behavior, urbanization, commercialization and economic development, ecological succession and deconcentration, demographic behavior, racial differentiation, social stratification, mobility and persistence, family organization, and so on. Substantively, then, the Project will be engaged in the systematic examination and testing of prevailing and competing models of explanation for development and change in urban, social, spatial, and demographic phenomena. Overwhelmingly, our perspective lies in the clarification of the whory concept of modernization and with its applicability to urban places. And who knows, we might even construct theory ourselves.

Research Tasks and Areas of Investigation

Without attempting to be inclusive or exhaustive, the Dallas Social History Project seeks to make contributions to the study of the following areas. Some of these topics are a standard feature of the "new" social history; others are perhaps more innovative.

1. *Stratification and mobility studies.* The presence of slaves, freeborn blacks as well as white and Mexican-American immigrants adds to the study. We hope to compare the experiences of all these groups, especially the emancipated blacks. Of special interest too is the interaction of groups each of which is new to the area: who succeeded, what were their advantages, how did they do it? Patterns of mobility (social and geographic) will be established; groups and individuals will be compared. Other important questions relate to the connections between persistance and mobility, savings patterns, property ownership and servant possession, conspicuous consumption, lifestyles, inter-generational patterns, social class and ethnicity. The existence of a long series of data on wealth-holding should permit a real contribution to be made.
2. *Settlement and land development.* Through the use of city and county directories, land patents, deeds, and transfers, we will attempt to plot

patterns of settlement, residential mobility, centralization and decentralization, ecological development and change, and land use. We are now building a collection of nineteenth-century maps and surveys.

3. *Family history and kinship analysis.* Family history is truly one of the most rapidly developing areas among the "new" social histories. We will study family structure, marriage patterns, adolescence and "growing up," and also attempt to chart kinship networks through the use of wills and marriage records. Wills also allow some analysis of parental control and family authority patterns as well as the position of women in the society, their variation by race, class, and ethnicity.
4. *Business, commerce, and industry.* Through the use of census records, population and manufacturing schedules, city directories, business records, and the newspapers, we will reconstruct patterns of commerce, their development, and change. We will attempt to link residence and workplace and relate commercial location to other spatial considerations. The remarkable Dun and Bradstreet credit ledgers are an invaluable aid in this reconstructive venture.
5. *Demographic patterns.* The census and vital statistics records allow the calculation of indices of fertility, nuptiality, and mortality. These are essential topics in the history of women and the family, relating as well to family patterns, social and economic development, stratification, ethnicity, race, and class.
6. *Cohorts and Lifecycles.* This topic clearly overlaps that of family and demographic historical questions, but in terms of method and approach it requires special attention. Here we will conceptualize individuals both longitudinally and cross-sectionally, comparing and supplementing the results of both operations.
7. *Transport and communications.* Changing patterns of movement, from horse and wagon to urban systems of horse trolleys and electric railroads will be studied as they relate to commercialization, residential segregation, and ecological transformation. Communications networks will be examined in the larger meaning of the phrase.
8. *Education.* The history of education is in a renaissance as most historians are well aware. Importantly, many of its questions relate to urban and social concerns. Thus we will be particularly interested in the evolution of a school system, literacy, patterns of attendance, and racial-ethnic-sexual-and-class discrimination.
9. *Institutional development.* More broadly than education alone, we will establish the development of institutions in the city, and their consequent patterns of differentiation and specialization. We conceive of "institution" flexibly and will examine formal and informal, public and private facilities, the services they provide and the groups they encompass.
10. *Cultural development.* All cultural events and institutions will be identified and studied to shed light on recreational, intellectual, and differential access patterns and their changes over time.
11. *Urbanization.* The final topic in this basic listing is perhaps the most essential and the widest. With Dallas, we begin the investigation on the eve of the city's very creation and will trace its development to urban prominence and hinterland domination. This is a rare opportunity for the historian.

Previous urban histories, old and new, have focused largely on one or two of these topics or social processes. They of course can be studied with significance and validity in their own right. The principal goal and innovation of the Dallas Social History Project, however, is to study them in dynamic interaction,

toward the creation of a larger comprehension of urban society and the impacts of modernization upon it, its diverse components, and their relationships.

The Agenda

With such a large scope and an operation of major proportions, it is essential that a flexible agenda be established and maintained. In the Project's first full year, 1976-77, we planned a bibliographic survey, collecting and locating all the references and primary materials required. Books, documents, and manuscripts are being purchased, copied and filmed.

Secondly, we are now also collecting aggregate statistics on the city and county, 1847-1900. This will provide us with a framework in which to develop the microanalysis and help in posing initial questions. We are beginning to train research assistants and hope to begin the encoding of census and tax records. Coding and data preparation will take us into years two and three, with the analysis running concurrently. The completion of the project, barring unforeseen problems, should require from five to seven years. The Dallas Social History Project, finally, sees its endeavors as both a challenge and an invitation to other Texas and Southwestern students of history. We seek your cooperation and want to share our materials and interests with you.[12]

NOTES

[1](Cambridge, Mass.: 1968).

[2]Stephen Thernstrom, "Reflections on the New Urban History," *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), 359-375; and Leo Schnore, (ed.), *The New Urban History* (Princeton, 1975).

[3]Alwyn Barr, "Occupational and Geographic Mobility in San Antonio, 1870-1900," *Social Science Quarterly*, 51 (1970), 396-403; Richard Lowe and Randolph Campbell, "Wealth-holding and Political Power in Antebellum Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 74 (1975), 21-30; B.T. Williams, "The Frontier Family: Demographic Fact and Historical Myth," in *Essays on The American West*, ed. H.M. Hollingsworth and S.L. Myres (Austin, 1969), 40-65.

[4]See, for example, my forthcoming review and the volumes discussed there, "Counting on the Past: Quantification in History," *Acadiensis;* Robert Berkhofer, *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York, 1969); Lee Benson, *Toward the Scientific Study of History* (Philadelphia, 1972); William Aydelotta, *Quantification in History* (Reading, Mass., 1970); David Landes and Tilly, *History as Social Science* (Englewood Cliffs, 1971); and E.J. Hobsbawn, "From Social History to the History of Society," *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), 20-45.

[5]See the discussions in my "Counting on the Past" and "The 'New-Math;' Quantification, the 'New' History and the History of Education," *Urban Education* (forthcoming); and R.W. Fogel, "The Limits of Quantitative Methods in History," *American Historical Review*, 80 (1975), 329-350.

[6]See, as examples only, Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress* (Cambridge, 1964), and *The Other Bostonians* (Cambridge, 1973); Sam B. Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Phases of its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968); and M.B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West* (Cambridge, 1975).

[7]Especially interesting in this respect is Theodore Hershberg, "The Philadelphia Social History Project: A Methodological History," (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1973).

[8]See, for example, Lampard, "The History of Cities in the Economically Advanced Areas," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 3 (1954-55), 81-136; and his

"Agnostic Foreword" in Schmore, *op.cit.* Hays, "The Development of Pittsburgh as a Social Order," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine,* 57 (1974), 431-448; and "The Changing Political Structure of the City in Industrial America," *Journal of Urban History,* 1 (1974), 6-39. Thernstrom, *op.cit.* "Urbanization, Migration and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth-Century America," in *Towards a New Past,* ed. B.J. Bernstein (New York, 1968), 158-175.

[9]See, for example, Hershberg, et al., "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," *Historical Methods Newsletter,* 7 (1974), 174-216.

[10]See Ian Winchester, "The Linkage of Historical Records by Man and Computer," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 1 (1970) 107-124; and E.A. Wrigley, ed., *Identifying People in the Past* (London, 1973).

[11]See Katz, Occupational Classification in History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 3 (1972), 63-88; and Griffen, "Occupational Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Social History,* 5 (1972), 310-330. More generally, see Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Society* (Cambridge, 1972).

[12]The Dallas Social History Project, University of Texas at Dallas, Box 688, Richardson, Texas 75080: C/O Harvey J. Graff 214-690-2030 or 214-690-2980; we are on the TEXAN line.

EAST TEXAS COLLOQUY

by Bobby H. Johnson

The Association traveled to Beaumont for its spring meeting on February 24-25, 1978. Held at Lamar University, the program featured sessions on a variety of topics, ranging from museums to the Great Depression.

Following a Friday evening open house at the French Trading Post, the meeting adjourned until Saturday when the first session considered museums as historical resources. Calvin B. Smith of Lamar University spoke on "Spindeltop Museum: A Resource for Research," followed by Carol Nelson of the Beaumont Heritage Society who discussed "French Trading Post: A Resource for Education." Peter M. Rippe of the Harris County Heritage Society concluded the session with a talk on that group's contribution as a resource for training.

Session II was divided into three parts. The first dealt with depression and disasters in East Texas. Donald R. Walker of Texas Tech University spoke on "Martin Dies and the Onslaught of the Depression," while Paul E. Isaac of Lamar University talked on "The Depression in Beaumont." Michael L. Toon of Austin discussed the New London school explosion of 1937. The second part focused on timber, cattle, and rice in East Texas. Participants and papers were James J. Cozine, Jr. of the Sam Houston Regional Library and Research Center, "The Timber Industry in East Texas"; Bill Brett of Hull, "East Texas Cattle Drives"; and Julian P. Craigmiles of Beaumont, "History of Texas Rice." Ethnic groups in East Texas were featured in part three. "Cultural and Biological Miscegenation in Spanish Texas," was the topic of James M. McReynolds of SFA. Elizabeth Brandon of the University of Houston spoke on " 'Roots' of the East Texas Cajuns," and Howard N. Martin of Houston discussed "Westward Migrations of the Alabama-Coushatta Indians."

William A. Owens of Nyak, N.Y., a familiar figure to Texas historians, delivered the luncheon address. His topic was "East Texas Folklore."

The meeting was well-attended, thanks to the efforts of program chairman Naaman Woodland, a professor of history at Lamar. He is to be commended for such a fine program, and thanks are also in order to Lois Parker of Beaumont, who handled the local arrangements. The Association also expresses its appreciation to the Beaumont Heritage Society, Southeast Texas Genealogical and Historical Society, Texas Gulf Historical Society, Beaumont Chamber of Commerce, as well as Lamar University.

Members are reminded of the fall meeting in Nacogdoches on Sept. 29-30.

The Houston Metropolitan Research Center has recently announced the acquisition of several valuable archival and manuscript collections. Affiliated with the Houston Public Library, the HMRC received nearly 900 linear feet of materials from the University of Houston and the Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association, which have designated HMRC as their archival depository.

The following collections came from the University of Houston:

1. Port of Houston Collection, 1920s-1970s—operational records, ship records, scrapbooks, printed materials, and photographs.
2. Ballinger and Associates Law Firm, 1854-1907—correspondence files of a prominent Galveston law firm.
3. Lawrence J. O'Connor Papers, 1960s-1970s—correspondence, speeches, reports, transcripts, published material of the former Federal Power Commissioner.

BOOK NOTES

Hood's Texas Brigade: A Compendium, written by Colonel Harold B. Simpson (Hill Junior College Press, P.O. Box 619, Hillsboro, Texas, 76645, $12.50), is the fourth and last volume of Colonel Simpson's epic *History of Hood's Texas Brigade.* Volume One *(Hood's Texas Brigade in Poetry and Song)* was published in 1968; Volume Two *(Hood's Texas Brigade: Lee's Grenadier Guard)* in 1970; and Volume Three *(Hood's Texas Brigade in Reunion and Memory)* in 1972. The four volumes comprise the most extensive history of a brigade in American history—over 1,800 pages, hundreds of informative and reference notes, 340 photographs and numerous charts and maps.

Hood's Texas Brigade, one of the outstanding brigades in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, was comprised of the 1st, 4th and 5th Texas Volunteer Infantry Regiments, the 3rd Arkansas and 18th Georgia Infantry Regiments and the Infantry Battalion (8 companies) of Hampton's South Carolina Legion. The three Texas Regiments formed the cornerstone of the Brigade, serving in it from the beginning of the war to Appomattox. The other regiments and the battalion served with the Brigade at various times during the war. Reilly's Battery (Co. D), 1st North Carolina Artillery Battery supported the Brigade from 2nd Manassas to Gettysburg.

There were 7,268 men assigned to Hood's Texas Brigade during the war; of this number over 4,300 were Texans. At Appomattox only 496 men of the three Texas Regiments were present to lay down their arms, less than 12 percent of those who had served in the Brigade during the war. Three hundred or about 7 percent of the men assigned to the three Texas Regiments served the entire war.

Hood's Texas Brigade: A Compendium is divided into four parts. Part One contains the rosters and service records of all 7,268 men who were members of the Brigade. Brigade and Regimental Headquarters Rosters are included as well as those of the sixty-one companies. Part Two is comprised of 147 photographs of officers, non-commissioned officers and privates who served in the Brigade. Part Three, "Statistical Charts and Summaries," is composed of casualty and loss charts by battle and by disease, and Part Four, entitled "Brigade Trivia," provides hundreds of interesting human relations episodes and facts in the colorful history of the Brigade and its men.

Identifying American Architecture: A Pictorial Guide to Styles and Terms, 1600-1945, by John J.-G. Blumenson (American Association for State and Local History, 1400 Eighth Avenue South, Nashville, Tennessee, 37203, $6.75, $4.50 to AASLH members), answers a long-felt need in a unique manner. It allows the reader to *visually* associate real buildings with its 214 photographs and to identify architectural styles, elements, and orders. No other book does this.

Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, architectural writer and critic of global renown, notes in his foreword that after recognizing these styles "you will be capable of making your own value judgements; I need scarcely add that sound value judgments are essential if in the end you want to plead for the preservation of the best."

What architectural styles are found in your neighborhood—Georgian, prairie, international, Spanish, Colonial revival? Have you ever been intrigued by a beautiful building and wondered when it was built, or how to describe it, or what combinations of elements were used in it?

More a glove compartment or top-of-the-desk book than a coffee table volume, *Identifying American Architecture* answers such questions with a text kept to a minimum. The book was designed to be used—to be carried about and kept handy and referred to often.

Identifying American Architecture has three sections: styles, index, and a pictorial glossary. The styles section uses three or four exterior views for each of the 39 styles; the

sixteen-page index is printed on contrasting paper in large type; and the extensive pictorial glossary provides a closer look at many different roofs, porches, wall finishes, doors, windows, and so forth. Every photograph is keyed to an explanatory legend by small numbered dots pointing out characteristic features.

Treasure, People, Ships and Dreams, a joint publication of The Institute of Texas Cultures of The University of Texas at San Antonio and the Texas Antiquities Committee (7.95), was written by Dr. John Davis, Director of Research at the Institute. From 16th century Spanish documents, Davis was able to piece together the story of the ships' passengers, the wreck and the incredible ordeal faced by the survivors. The result is a unique insight into the Spanish Empire and Colonial Mexico.

Artifacts recovered from the sunken ships are presented in full color photographs. In addition to gold ingots and silver coins, the archeologists discovered the oldest known astrolabe—a navigational instrument—in the western hemisphere and several tons of ship's riggings, including cannons, anchors and a portion of a ship's keel.

More than 70 color illustrations and photographs illustrate the 75-page narrative. The book sells for $7.95 (Texas residents should add $.40 sales tax) and can be ordered from the Institute at P.O. Box 1226, San Antonio, Texas, 78294.

The Swiss Texans, a publication of The Institute of Texan Cultures of The University of Texas at San Antonio, is a careful compilation of the effect these European immigrants had on the history of the state.

A small volume—23 pages with numerous illustrations—*The Swiss Texans* sells for $2.00. It is available not only to Americans of Swiss descent or to Texana scholars, but also to the general public and school children. It provides new insights into state history and tells the story of a people often ignored by standard Texas history textbooks.

San Antonio de Bexar, by William Corner (Graphic Arts, 718 North Cherry Street, San Antonio, Texas, 78202, $12.50), was the first guide ever written about the city, and today, almost one hundred years since it was published, remains the "bible" for historians and researchers and a delight to all those who enjoy San Antonio's turbulent and colorful past. It is history in its most entertaining form.

Published in 1890, *San Antonio de Bexar* is a fountain of information on the "fastest growing city in the Southwest." William Corner, who owned a bookstore in the shadow of the Alamo, was a natural storyteller, historian, and chronicler. He traced the coming of the Spaniards, explored the mission ruins, drew maps of those great architectural monuments, and wrote a separate chapter on the bloody events of the Alamo. He interviewed Madame Candelaria.

Corner talked with people who knew Austin and the Bowie Brothers. He socialized with Rangers Rip Ford and Jack Hayes, interviewed early German and French settlers who had arrived in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s; and researched the original Spanish Archives with Bishop Neraz, who helped with translations.

Corner wrote of The River, its Acequias, and the political history of the San Antonio Water Works. He listed Charters of the City, along with its Mayors.

The illustrations, treasures too, were done by L. Cotton, a reporter-artist who settled in San Antonio long enough to leave some of the finest on-the-scene drawings to be had. Advertisements that have more sales appeal than most ads of today enhance the historical value of Corner's guide.

San Antonio de Bexar had become a collector's book prized by historians and guarded on the rare book shelves of libraries. It is being reprinted today for the enjoyment and

information jammed between its covers, as William Corner's guide should not be a "rare book" but in open stacks and in bookstores for everyone interested in this "story city" San Antonio de Bexar.

In Search of Butch Cassidy (University of Oklahoma Press, 1005 Asp Avenue, Norman, Oklahoma, 73019, $9.95), by Larry Pointer, asks Who was Butch Cassidy? He was born Robert LeRoy Parker in 1866 in Utah. And, as everyone knows, after years of operating with a sometime gang of outlaws known as the Wild Bunch, he and the Sundance Kid escaped to South America, only to die in a 1908 shootout with a Bolivian cavalry troop.

But did he die? Some say that he didn't die in Bolivia but returned to live out a quiet life in Spokane, Washington, where he died peacefully in 1937. In interviews with the author, scores of his friends and relatives and their descendants in Wyoming, Utah, and Washington concurred, claiming that Butch Cassidy had returned from Bolivia and had lived out the remainder of his life in Spokane under the alias William T. Phillips.

In 1934 William T. Phillips wrote an unpublished manuscript, an (auto)-biography of Butch Cassidy, "The Bandit Invincible, the Story of Butch Cassidy." Larry Pointer, marshalling an overwhelming amount of evidence, is convinced that William T. Phillips and Butch Cassidy were the same man. The details of his life, though not ending spectacularly in a Bolivian shootout, are more fascinating than the until-now accepted version of the outlaw's life.

There *was* a shootout with the Bolivian cavalry, but according to Butch (Phillips), he was able to escape under the cover of darkness, sadly leaving behind his longtime friend, the Sundance Kid, dead.

Then came Paris, a minor bit of face-lifting, Michigan, marriage, Arizona, Mexico with perhaps a tour as a sharpshooter for Pancho Villa, Alaska, and at last the life of a businessman in Spokane. In between there were some quiet return trips to visit old friends and haunts in Wyoming and Utah.

The author, with the invaluable help of Cassidy's autobiography, has pieced together the full and final story of the remarkable outlaw—from his Utah Mormon origins, through his escapades of banditry and his escape to South America, to his self-rehabilitation as William T. Phillips, a productive and respected member of society.

Go Forth, Be Strong: Advice and Reflections From Commencement Speakers (Southern Illinois University Press, P.O. Box 3697, Carbondale, Illinois, 62901, $12.50) burys forever the notion that by their very nature graduation speeches must be dull pieces of hack work enervated by platitudes.

This book was edited by Francis H. Horn, and it contains twenty-seven speeches by the twenty-five educators delivered during the decade from the Berkeley student riots of 1964 to the economic recession of the mid-1970s. These men and women have seen war on campus, then apathy. And they have viewed it from the top. With grade and eloquence, they have provided a unique and enduring social history of a time of turmoil. They have condensed years of experience, of pondering the human condition, of working with the university community into succinct, profound statements of twenty to thirty minutes duration.

The university presidents represented here are men and women of the world as well as of the campus. They influence events, and their opinions shape other opinions. All of these intellectual leaders, as part of their jobs, have been compelled to speak out on national and international issues. One function of this book is to make sure that these important statements do not perish on the campus of origin.

Certainly, in these addresses there is the traditional exhortation to the graduates to somehow find the wisdom, will, and courage to conquer insurmountable problems, yet it is an exhortation delivered in good faith. These are not weary, cynical men and women speaking the lines required by their audience. They speak from a sincere conviction that ultimately human beings can make this a better world. And they expressed this faith, President Horn emphasizes, during a critical period when the college generations were under attack for their beliefs and actions. Their speeches might serve as models for those planning similar addresses and for students and teachers in speech courses.

From Indian Springs to the River Jordan, written by Traylor Russell and Robert T. Russell and published by the authors (P.O. Box 1135, Mt. Pleasant, Texas, 75455, $10.75), is two kinds of book in one. The various chapters may be approached as individual short stories, but the entire book may also be read from front to back as a novel. They leave it to the reader to decide. Although written in fictional form, its contents are based on historical personages and events. It concerns life in northeast Texas during the years surrounding the nation's Centennial celebration. Pegley Jones and Doc Taliaferro are some of the characters discussed.

Cowboy Alphabet and *Prairie Christmas* (Shoal Creek Publishers, P.O. Box 9737, Austin, Texas, 78766, $6.95 each), written by James Rice, are excellently illustrated and written. They are children's books, but they appeal to the child in all of us. Rice is a well-known illustrator, painter, and sculptor. The lore of the Southwest is presented for young readers.

Early Days in Texas and Rains County (Reprinted by The Lost & Found, 1202 Oriole, Garland, Texas, 75042, $3.65), by W.O. Hebison of Emory, was first published in 1917. The original is scarce, hence this republication of the fifty-page volume. It is interesting local history.